

NO. 216

NOVEMBER, 1907

25 CENTS

THE ARENA

A Twentieth-Century Review of Opinion

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR



MUNICIPAL ART IN NEW ORLEANS, Illustrated GOVERNMENT BY FEDERAL JUDGES

Kant's Doctrine That the Human Mind is Both the Creator and the Law-Giver of the Physical Universe

Secretary Tast and Senator Lodge as Upholders of Machine Rule
Mark Twain's Attack On Christian Science

DELIGHTFUL GIFT BOOKS

Cape Cod Ballads and Other Verse

by Joe Lincoln

ILLUSTRATED BY EDWARD W. KEMBLE.

Have you a friend who is a lover of the homely and expressive dialect of New England, who inclines to the simple, heartfelt lays which come from the brain of the people's poet? Then you will search far before you can find a volume of verse more altogether delightful than this.

Price, \$1.25; by mail, \$1.35.

The Gate Beautiful
Being Principles and Methods in Vital Art Education

by Prof. John Ward Stimson

To the student of art and to any aspiring young person who desires to immensely broaden and deepen his or her culture in a vital and noble way, we believe that this book will prove the volume or volumes that will not only become a fountain of perpetual delight, but also an influence that will enrich the whole of after life. Contains thousands of illustrations, including two color charts.

Cloth Edition: Royal 4to. Price, \$7.50; by mail, \$7.95.

Paper-covered Edition: Thinner paper, narrow margins. Price, \$3.50; by mail, \$3.76.

The Building of the City Beautiful

by Joaquin Miller

An ideal Christmas gift for all who love that which is good and pure and beautiful—all who seek to help the world onward and to make life richer, nobler and more grandly worth the while. *The Boston Transcript* says: "One of the most beautiful spiritual visions of all ages." With photogravure of the author and his mother.

Price, \$1.50; by mail, \$1.60.

In Nature's Realm

by Charles C. Abbott, M.D.

With ninety drawings and photogravure frontispiece, by Oliver Kemp.

For any lover of nature who is also a lover of beautiful books, this volume will be found peculiarly appropriate. The author helps his readers to look at nature with fresher eyes, and to see beauties and sources of delight unnoticed before.

Price, \$2.50; by mail, \$2.68.

B. O. FLOWER'S
How England Averted a Revolution of Force

This book will be found one of the most timely, instructive and morally helpful books. It is a historical survey of the leading political and social events in the England of the thirties and forties of the last century.

An appendix gives the leading songs of freedom, and poems of protest of the period.

Price, \$1.25; by mail, \$1.35.

THE BRANDT
BOOKSALBERT BRANDT: PUBLISHER
TRENTON, N.J. & BOSTON, MASS.THE ARENA
MAGAZINE

Dan Beard's Moonlight and Six Feet of Romance

With Fifty Pictures by the Author.

Among your friends and acquaintances, perhaps you have some social reformer friend who inclines toward the Single Tax. If so, you cannot do better than to present such a friend with this book. It is a romance of the coal region.

Price, \$1.25; by mail, \$1.35.

A Short History of Monks and Monasteries

by Alfred Wesley Wishart

The work gives a better idea than was ever before presented between a single pair of covers what a strong part monasticism has performed in the world's history. Mr. Wishart brings the advantages of a trained mind and the scholarly instinct to this work.

Original (8vo.) Edition: Illustrated with four photogravures.

Price, \$3.50; by mail, \$3.68.

New (12mo.) Edition, without illustrations.

Price, \$1.50; by mail, \$1.62.

Elegies: Ancient and Modern

by Mary Lloyd

A critical and historical study of Elegiac poetry of the world, together with an anthology of this noble form of verse selected from the literature of all peoples and of all ages. Two volumes. Volume I, now ready.

Price, \$1.50, each volume; by mail, \$1.62.

The Story of New Zealand

by Prof. Frank Parsons

A book of 860 pages, containing 170 illustrations, that tells the truth about New Zealand—the truth that has startled, amazed and excited the admiration of the whole world.

Price, \$3.00; by mail, \$3.50.

The City for the People

by Prof. Frank Parsons

A most valuable work on public ownership of public utilities, direct legislation and municipal home rule. Will be found indispensable by students of municipal questions.

Price, \$1.00; by mail, \$1.25.

A Primer of Direct Legislation

A twenty-four page pamphlet containing chapters on the referendum the initiative, and supplementary remedies in four parts. Price, 10 cents each; 13 for \$1.00; 50 for \$3.50; 100 for \$6.00 to one or more addresses.

Just Plain Folks

by E. Stillman Doubleday

Many a man will see himself pictured here and will marvel to know how another has so well told his story.

Price, \$1.25 postpaid.

The City the Hope of Democracy

by Frederic C. Howe

"A strong and detailed analysis at the root of municipal government."

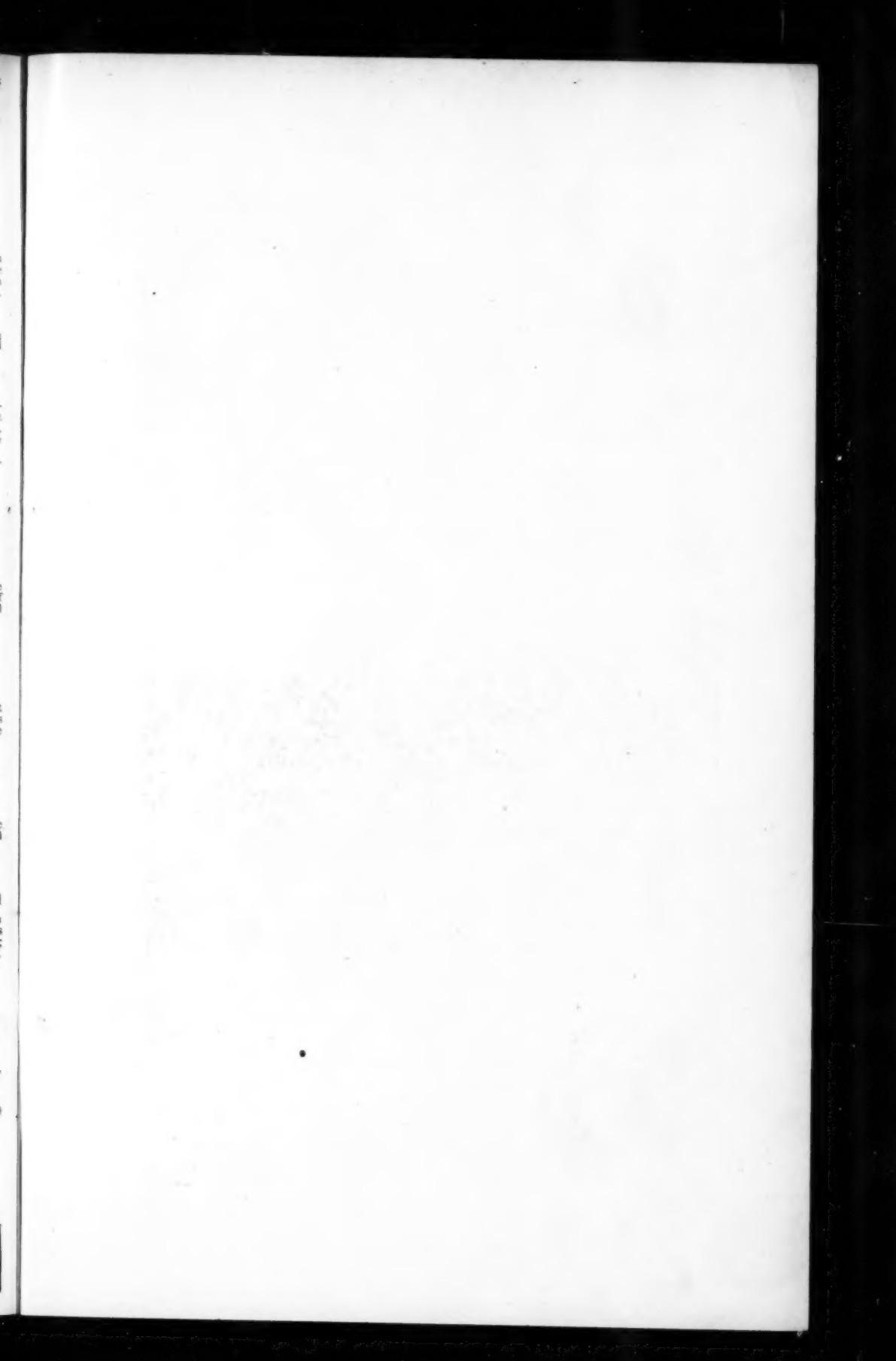
Price, \$1.50; by mail, \$1.63.

By DAVID GRAHAM PHILLIPS

The Plum Tree. Price, \$1.50 postpaid.

The Deluge. Price, \$1.50 postpaid.

The Cost. Price, \$1.50 postpaid.



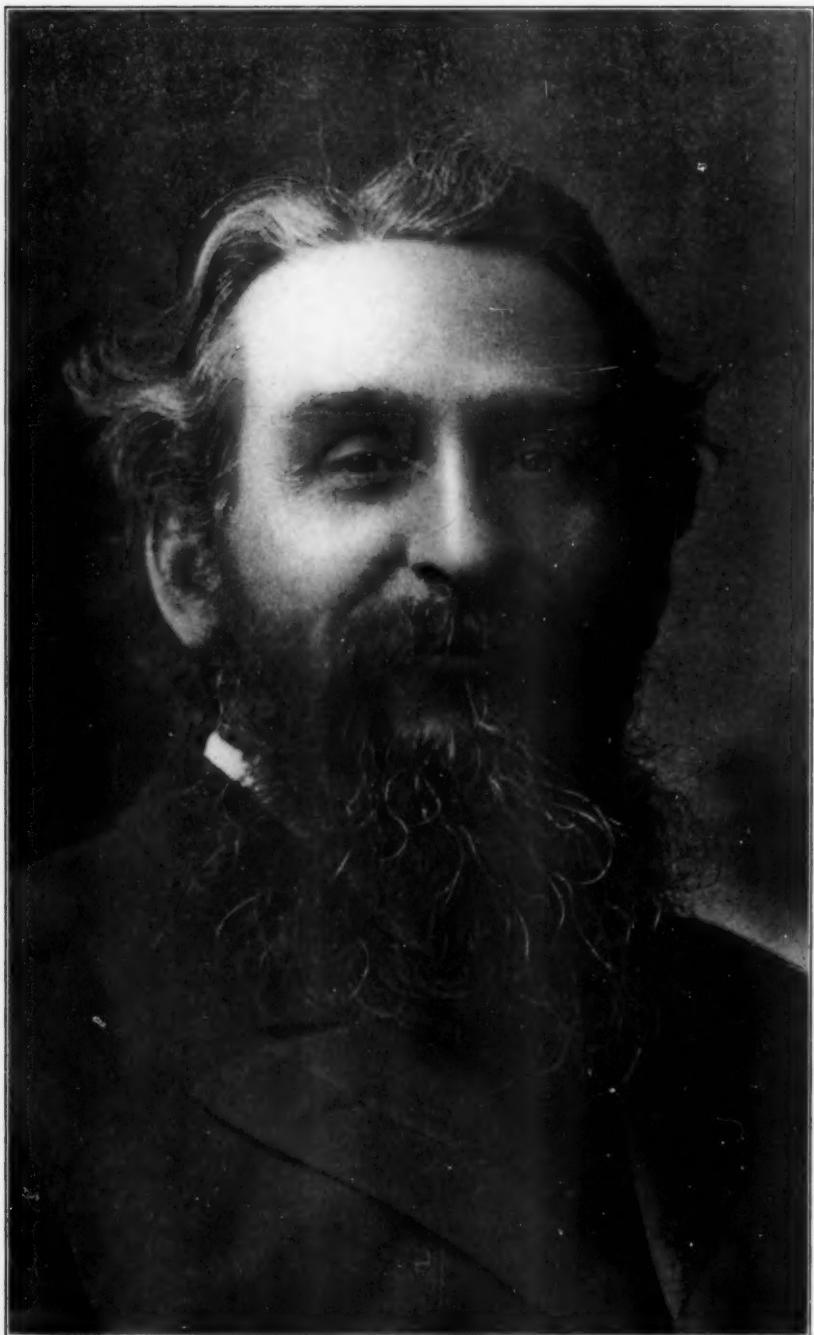


Photo by Purdy, Boston.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.

*"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them;
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them.—HEINE.*

The Arena

VOL. 38

NOVEMBER, 1907

No. 216

MUNICIPAL ART IN AMERICAN CITIES: NEW ORLEANS, LOUISIANA.

BY GEORGE WHARTON JAMES

FOR YEARS the South has been our region of romance. Both before and after the Civil War we of the North and West have looked to the South as a country separate and distinct. While one with us—part of the great Union—it has still had a separateness and aloofness that made it "different." Yet I have always felt that that aloofness or difference was more apparent than real. I was assured that in essential spirit there was no great difference between the two sections of the country. Human life might manifest itself outwardly in slightly different ways, but the spirit of the leaders of the South was, in the main, the same as that of the leaders of the North. So in dealing with the problems of municipal art and government I fully determined some years ago to study, as far as possible, the growth and development in certain southern cities, that I might show how they have kept pace with the growing demand for democratic art in city life, and nowhere could this better be shown than in New Orleans and Galveston as seaports, and Houston and San Antonio as inland cities. To these four cities, then, these articles will

be confined, beginning with New Orleans.

As is well known, New Orleans is near the mouth of the Mississippi River. This great river, draining its vast areas, naturally brings down an incredible amount of mud and silt in solution in its waters. As these reach the gulf level they flow more and more slowly, thus allowing the deposit of the sediment that a rapid stream will carry along. The result is that at the mouth of the Mississippi is a vast mud plain, deposited during the centuries, and slowly but surely pushing itself out further and further into the Gulf. The city is built upon a portion of this river-built mud-plain about eighty miles from the Gulf. It is not absolutely flat, but almost so, the level being from about a foot below the normal low-water Gulf level to fifteen feet above. The average level is from three to five feet above Gulf level.

The river is substantially at Gulf level at normal flow of low water. It is subject to varying increase from Gulf level to fully twenty feet above it at high tide.

These conditions demanded in the earliest days of New Orleans' history



ST. CHARLES STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

the creation of levees to keep out the flood at the varying stages of high tide. The first settlers raised a bank on the river front before their houses and extended it in the shape of a rude parallelogram completely around that portion of their property they wished to protect. This principle has been followed ever since, until the modern city and state, taking hold of the problem in the modern method of thoroughness, has constructed levees for hundreds of miles,—levees that are becoming more stable, extensive and secure each year. Slowly the federal government has seen that it was its duty to engage largely in this work. The Mississippi River is the outlet of the flood waters of twenty-seven states, and it seems scarcely fair that the one state and city which happen to be near its mouth should be at the mercy of these flood waters or required *perforce* to protect themselves from their devas-

tating power. This levee work is undoubtedly federal government work in the truest sense and should be under its absolute control and done at its expense.

At the boundary line between New Orleans and Jefferson parishes (as the counties are termed) the levee is some sixteen or eighteen feet high above the surrounding country.

In the commercial heart of the city the levees exist just as distinctly as in the outlying districts of the river's course, yet they are not so evident, as, little by little, the streets parallel and leading to the river have been filled in to the level of the levee. Trade conditions demanded this, for it would have been impracticable to unload vessels over a levee down to a street level ten or a dozen feet below.

As is well known the streets of the business portion of New Orleans are exceedingly narrow and inconvenient. This is the legacy of the old French and Spanish

days, when, for purposes of safety against the floods and the attacks of foes, it was necessary to huddle the houses together as closely as possible.

But the visitor who rides out beyond the business and poorer portion of New Orleans will be surprised to find a number of wide and well-kept streets and avenues, lined on either side with beautiful residences embowered in a wealth of shade trees that even southern California cannot surpass. In the heart of the city, too, he finds Canal street, a wide, broad business street, and at intervals of about a mile there is a similar wide street. In the center of all these streets is what is called the "neutral strip,"

—a parkway of grass and shade trees in which the street-car tracks are laid, thus leaving each side of the street for horse and automobile traffic.

Here and there these neutral strips widen out into small parks, squares or "places," and New Orleans has a fair quota of these civic lungs, there being 34 squares and places, with an area of 53.86 acres, and 26 avenue spaces with an area of 40.90 acres. In addition there are 209 acres of private parks, 75 acres of residence parks, and 11 acres of public resorts under private control. All these, exclusive of the two large parks, *viz.*, Audubon Park, 247 acres with 33 acres of batture (or land accumulated by river

deposit), and the City Park, with 216 acres.

As soon as the visitor begins to ride about New Orleans he observes a marked peculiarity of the streets. Those streets which have a general east and west direction follow the course of the river, which is largely that of a crude dipper. The result is that these streets curve about considerably, to the manifest confusion of the stranger. For instance, St. Charles Avenue begins at the upper part of the river, near Jefferson Parish, and runs south-easterly, then gently curves with the river to a slight northerly divergence from east, then sharply north-east to a few blocks beyond Lee Circle,



ST. LOUIS PLACE, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



FRENCH COURTYARD, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

where it is crowded out by the upward and inward curve of the river. This avenue extends for two and three-fourths miles and is lined on either side with fine residences. The houses and the neutral strip are shaded with maples, live oaks, water oaks, magnolias, palms of several varieties, umbrella trees, camphors and other trees. The inhabitants of St. Charles Avenue have organized a local improvement association for the keeping of their street in good condition, and about \$7,000 a year is contributed for that purpose.

On this avenue are located two "universities" for colored people, the Leland

and the New Orleans University, both somewhat limited as to funds. There are two other institutions for the education of the negroes in New Orleans.

At the extreme upper end of St. Charles Avenue is Tulane University, once known as the University of Louisiana. In 1884 Mr. Tulane, a Princeton man, who had accumulated great wealth in New Orleans, donated a million dollars towards it, and the grateful people insisted upon giving the institution his name. The buildings already erected are modern, substantial and architecturally pleasing. Elsewhere, though connected with Tulane, is the Sophie Newcomb College, the women's department of the university.

Other public buildings worthy of note in New Orleans are the City Hall, the Atheneum (belonging to the Young Men's Hebrew Association), the new Carnegie Library now in course of erection, the new St. Charles Hotel, the Howard Library, the Confederate Museum Building, and many others.

Several steel-frame sky-scrappers are in course of erection, resting on piles and beds of concrete. These will speedily change the appearance of the whole city.

There is at present but one apartment house in all New Orleans, the southern city having been slow to adopt the northern method, which, with all its

advantages, has the one great disadvantage of herding people closer together than is good for them or their children.

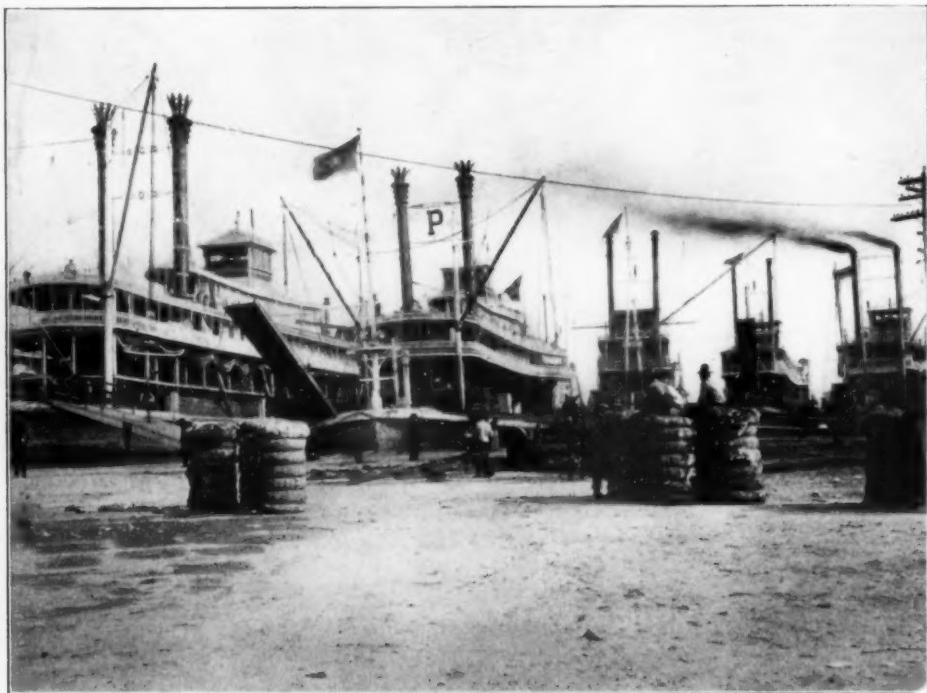
The stone paving of the business streets of New Orleans has a romantic connection with the sea. In the palmy days of the sailing vessel, when barks, barkentines, schooners and the like from all quarters found their way here for cargoes of Louisiana sugar, molasses, rice, corn, etc., they invariably brought ballast and much of this was in the shape of cobble-stones or paving slabs. These were dumped out at the wharves, and later, when the growing city began to pave its streets, these cobble-stones were seized upon as a Godsend.

The cemeteries of New Orleans are known throughout the world. Owing to the situation of the city below the river level and the poor drainage of early days, it was found that graves dug in the soil were half filled with water before the coffin could be decently in-

terred. It was natural therefore that the highest portion of the city should be used for burial purposes. This portion is known as the Mietairie Ridge. In some prehistoric day in the history of the Mississippi River it built up for itself a channel almost directly across the city, in a rude east and north-easterly direction, and a little north of midway between the river and Lake Ponchartrain. In due time it abandoned this channel as a water course, but left the channel and its two banks, which now exist at an elevation of about five feet above mean gulf level. This ridge is continuous across the city save for one break, through which the Bayou St. John, used as an inter-city canal, passes. A large portion of it has been preempted for the cemeteries, and to entirely overcome the fear lest water should interfere with their dead the early inhabitants no longer buried under ground, but entombed their dead in vaults elevated



FRENCH MARKET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



LOADING COTTON, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

above the ground. There are several of these cemeteries, the later ones being of a most elaborate character. Indeed, they have become show-places to visitors.

The New Orleans method of governing its parks is individualistic and incoherent. There is a Commission appointed for each park, square and avenue, by the Mayor and approved by the City Council. All the appointments are honorary. Audubon and City Parks, however, are under the control of Commissions created by the state in 1896. Each is an incorporated body and is provided with \$15,000 annually for the maintenance of its park. The act makes it mandatory upon the City Council to appropriate "as a first item in its budget, out of the reserve fund, a sum of at least \$30,000," to be divided between the two Commissions.

Thus it will be seen that the New Orleans parks are governed by separate and distinct commissions, without any

general head, any bond of interest, either real or formal, or any means afforded for the regular occasional meeting of all the commissioners for the interchange of ideas. The result of this plan is both good and bad; good in that it has resulted in a decided increase of park sentiment throughout the whole city. This in a city of New Orleans' heterogeneity is a most important thing to secure.

Each park or parklet has its own commission of more or less interested persons, who, with their friends, are aroused to do what they can for their individual park. If money is needed for some desired improvement the commission can unite itself and its friends to bring this to pass, either by raising the needful funds by subscription—public or private—or by storming the City Council with its demands. While this is by no means an unmixed good, as we shall later see, it is a great good in that



TULANE UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

stage of a city's development through which New Orleans can scarcely yet be said to have passed.

On the other hand, the absence of any central governing board which shall have some degree of control or supervision over the whole city system is likely to result in an individualism that is neither pleasing, harmonious, coherent, nor economical.

What New Orleans should speedily do in this stage of its park development is to organize a general park board. Let each park retain its individual commission if it is deemed best, but let there be a central board, composed, if necessary, of members of the separate boards, elected in proportion to the size and importance of their respective parks. Then let this board formulate a great and comprehensive plan of park, boulevard and general civic improvement within their allotted scope of operations,

giving due attention to the respective claims of each district, which can be presented by its own representative, and then each dollar spent will be expended in the direction of the development and completion of this comprehensive plan which it may require a century of effort to achieve.

The evil of most civic endeavor of to-day is its utter and crass shortsightedness. Every city in the Union is a more or less marked example of this dense stupidity in not seeing ahead.

New Orleans, in its park system, has been no less shortsighted than other cities. The commission of the City Park had an opportunity a few years ago to purchase a most desirable tract of park land just beyond their present limits for some twelve thousand dollars. Instead of promptly closing the deal some "penny wise pound foolish" member held up the contract

to "discuss it" until the owner raised the price. Then an unfortunate trespass occurred of the owner's cows upon the park and in the squabble that ensued the price went up again and again the board hesitated and delayed until quicker and more far-seeing men jumped into the affair and gobbled up the whole tract as a speculation. The park board took the matter into the courts, but the law refused to give them redress against their own negligent procrastination, and the result is that the city to-day is minus a most necessary piece of park property, which has more than twenty times increased in value.

Had a far-seeing and promptly acting board of general park control been in existence it could have prevented the loss to the city of such a valuable property by vigorous and speedy grasping of the situation and completion of the purchase.

I visited and carefully studied the

two large parks of New Orleans, the City Park and Audubon Park. There is a vast difference at once apparent in the direction and management which reveals the strength and weakness of the individual or separate park commission system. In the one case a wisely thought out, large and comprehensive plan is being worked upon—though never so slowly—while in the other it is evident that the only plan is the immediate whim or notion of the present park board. Let me make perfectly clear what I mean. At Audubon Park the commission, on taking charge, called upon certain well-known landscape and park developers to study the ground and submit plan for its systematic and thorough development. This judicious and by no means large expenditure of money resulted in the obtaining of the comprehensive ideas of men of vast experience in dealing with problems of this nature and the final



OLD ST. LOUIS CEMETERY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



ARMY OF TENNESSEE VAULT, METRAINE CEMETERY, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

purchase of plans submitted by the well-known firm of Olmstead Brothers of Brookline, Massachusetts. The actual cost of these plans and the consequent education of the members of the Audubon Park board in the large ideas of competent men has been less than eight thousand dollars.

What is the result? The board, with its limited income for improvement and maintenance, realizes that to immediately carry out the Olmstead plans is impossible, for they call for the expenditure of many thousands of dollars; but—and here is the great benefit—every cent that they expend is in doing work that furthers the larger plan. When the board is ready to take up development on a large scale nothing will have to be undone.

Audubon Park is the after result of the World's Cotton Exposition of 1884. One large building was allowed to remain

—the Horticultural Building—and after putting a new brick foundation under it, it serves admirably for housing a large number of semi-tropical plants, trees, shrubs and flowers of special interest.

The chief charm in both the New Orleans parks is found in the massive live oaks which nature placed there before the advent of man upon the scene. There are no more majestic and beautiful trees on the continent than these awe-inspiring and soul-uplifting monarchs. With a keen appreciation of their kingly character, the commissions have cared for them so that they stand, individualistic and undisturbed in their primeval grandeur. Two of them are known respectively as the George and Martha Washington oaks, and scientists tell us they are not less than four hundred years old.

One of the principle motives for the existence of a park is that it shall afford

to city dwellers, rich and poor alike, a rural retreat,—a piece of the country, not only for health, but for pleasure, recreation and instruction. Hence, every element that reminds one of the city should be, as far as possible, rigidly excluded. While it may not be possible to shut out totally from view the buildings outside of the park, they should be hidden as completely as tree-planted elevations can accomplish it. This has been done at Audubon Park. The two sides are open upon streets lined with houses. In order to make the park a place of retreat and seclusion the ground has been elevated along the sides and the mounds thus created planted thoroughly with trees and shrubs. With a short-sighted conception as to the province of the parks and with a selfish eye merely to their own personal gratification, the dwellers in these streets have protested against this action and have petitioned to have the trees cut down. In other

words, they desire to utilize the park as a large front yard for themselves, regardless of the advantages or disadvantages that would accrue to the great mass of park goers. That this spirit is selfish and incivic need not be more than said. The good of the whole mass of the people is the first consideration of a park commission, and New Orleans is to be congratulated that at Audubon Park the commissioners resolutely keep their minds fixed upon this prime duty, regardless of either praise or blame.

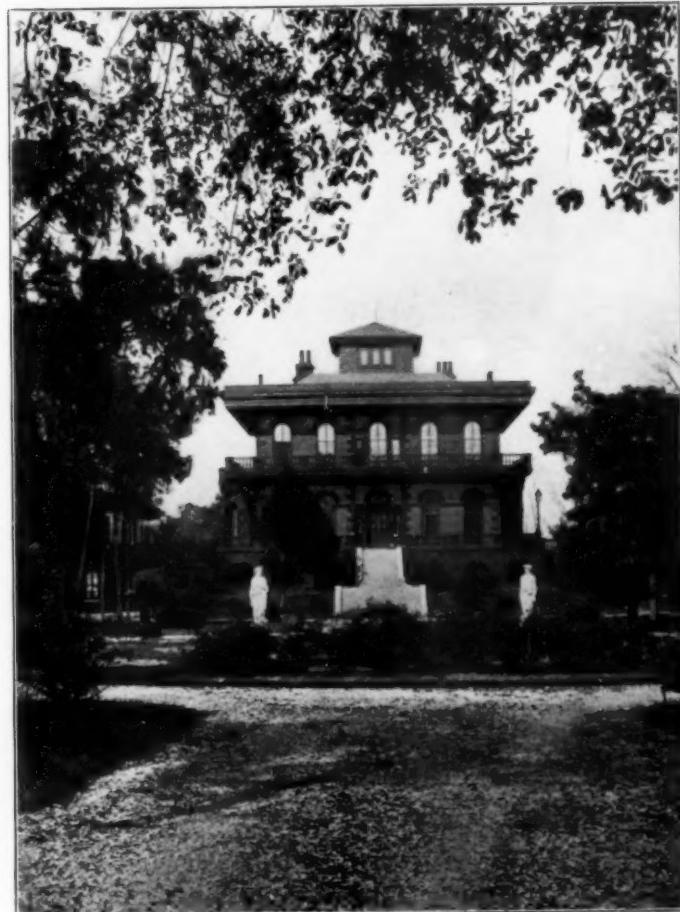
With an eye to legitimately increasing its income as far as it possibly can, the commission has rented a corner of the park to a local golf club, for \$300 a year. This club keeps its portion of the park in good order and is under contract to vacate at any time. Concessions are also rented for refreshment stands and a carousel, or merry-go-round, etc., all of which add somewhat to the working income. Fifty acres are rented to the



JACKSON SQUARE AND ST. LOUIS CATHEDRAL, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

Louisiana State Experimental Station for \$500 a year, where extensive experiments in sugar culture and manufacture are constantly being carried on, and where cotton is grown and experimented with. At present there are 118 varieties of orange trees in the grounds, being tested for hardihood, fruit-bearing, etc.

Some time ago an ordinance was passed by the City Council setting apart Hagan Avenue as a parkway between the City Park and Audubon Park, and authorizing the city engineer to prepare plans for submission to the Council, embodying the suggestions that led to the passage of the ordinance. It must be noted, however, that Hagan Avenue does not reach either park. It is a wide avenue extending from Breedlove on the south-west to Bienville on the north-east, but not quite one-half the distance between the two parks. The intent of the movers of the ordinance was good, but the city engineer, having more pressing and important duties on his hands, and being short of help, was unable to give his time and attention to it, and the city having a shortage of revenue and urgent need for all of it, this matter has been allowed to be pigeon-holed, where it now remains, though the committee to whom the ordinance was referred spent some \$800 to \$900 in having a



HOME ON ESPLANADE STREET, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

survey made showing how the two ends of Hagan Avenue could be connected with the two parks.

It cannot be denied that, when a city's finances are low, parks and parkways necessarily have to suffer. Yet it is better to incur small debts for future generations to pay, than render it impossible for them to have parks, by allowing all available grounds to be sold and refusing to consider the needs of the future.

Need it be suggested to men who love their native city, that far better than any marble monument in the cemetery would be a donation to the park system? In

the one case personal and family pride alone are met and no one in the world benefited. In the other case the pride is made honorable and beautiful in the great benefit that accrues to the city at large, especially to the poor and needy, who use the parks so largely. If ten men would agree to do without expensive tombs at their death and donate the money to the parks of New Orleans, they would be public benefactors far more than they can now imagine, for their example would be contagious and in a decade improvements and extensions on a large scale could be carried on.

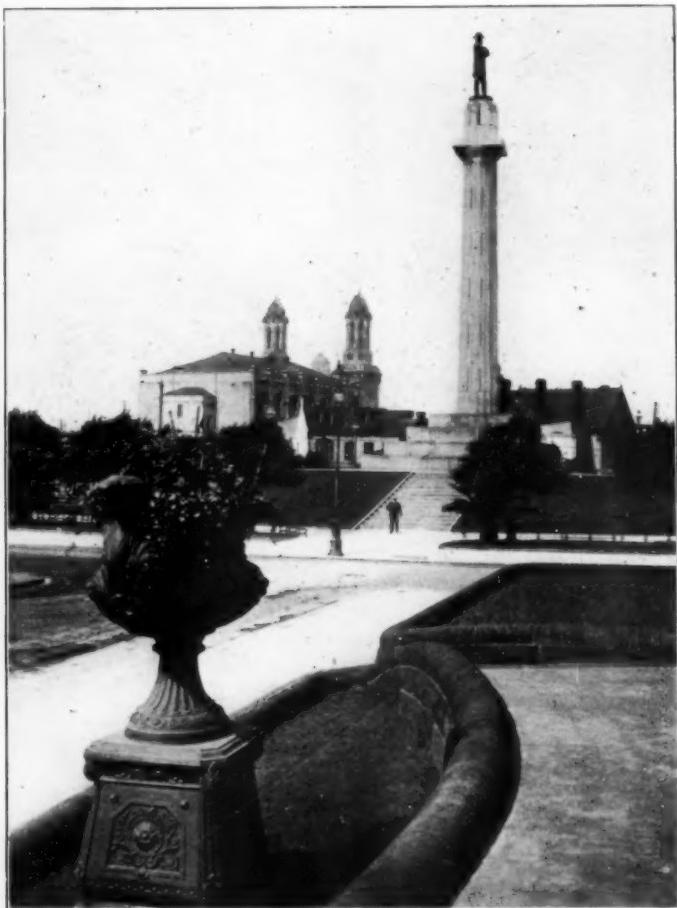
With an income of but \$15,000 a year

each from the city, which is increased to about \$18,000 by careful financing, it can be seen that neither of the great parks of New Orleans has much money to squander. Every cent must be used carefully and in the different methods of management and expenditure the careful observer finds a marked illustration of the great advantage that working on a definite plan has over haphazard improvement.

In conclusion I have pleasure in saying that I deem New Orleans as progressive in the matter of parks as most northern cities. It is especially fortunate in having a few men, prominent among

whom is Mr. Lewis Johnson, who, regardless of praise or blame, continue in a large-hearted, truly patriotic way that cannot be too highly appreciated or commended, to work for the present and future development of the park system of the city.

To these gentlemen, I beg to offer the following suggestions. Demand, ask, petition largely for the future. Pledge the city's credit wherever possible for park property. Experience all over the world shows that property dedicated to park purposes increases the value of all near-by property, and thereby enlarges the city's tax receipts. Parks are also a legitimate bait for outsiders. They are health and pleasure producers, and that



LEE MONUMENT, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



DANCING PAVILION, CITY PARK, NEW ORLEANS, LA.



CITY PARK, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

city is truly progressive which duly and fully considers the health and legitimate pleasure of its citizens.

And, as soon as possible, raise a small fund for the purpose of calling upon several well-known park architects of the country, to come and suggest a large and farsighted plan for the future development of the park system, parkways and connecting boulevards for the whole city. After due deliberation accept one or the other of these plans, and then, as the years pass, intelligently and faithfully work to carry them out. The future will show the wisdom of this suggestion. In twenty years the city that follows such a course will show such a marked advance over the city that follows the present haphazard, hit-or-miss method, and at such a large saving of expense, that

its wisdom can never again be questioned.

GEORGE WHARTON JAMES.
Pasadena, Calif.



LIVE OAKS, AUDUBON PARK, NEW ORLEANS, LA.

"AARON'S ROD;" OR, GOVERNMENT BY FEDERAL JUDGES.

BY HON. WALTER CLARK, LL.D.,
Chief Justice of North Carolina.

THE FOURTEENTH Amendment was passed solely for the protection of the then lately emancipated colored people. There is the gravest doubt whether it was ever legally adopted. But it is certain that it is not being used for the only purpose for which its adoption was avowedly urged. It is equally certain that it has been seized upon by plutocratic and capitalistic combinations as a means through which to nullify all legislative or congressional action that is not to their liking. Adopted for the protection of the negro, it has become the asylum of the millionaire.

This has been easy work. The Federal judges are not elective. The popular will has not only no choice in their selection, but as their tenure is for life, popular sentiment, however just or strong, or however indignant under just provocation, is no check upon their conduct. Of the 113 United States judges, there are very few, who were not corporation lawyers before appointment. There are still fewer who do not owe their appointment to trust or corporation influences, vigorously exerted in their behalf. There is not one whose appointment would have been confirmed by the plutocratic Senate, if confirmation had been opposed by the capitalistic combinations to whom a majority of the senators owe their seats.

Thus selected, thus confirmed, and thus holding, the Federal judiciary is the ideal instrument of government for the plutocracy. The powers assumed (without any provision of the Constitution to authorize it, and indeed, despite the fact that the motion to insert it was four times voted down by the Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia in 1787) to declare any legislation unconstitutional, gave the judiciary the power, and the Fourteenth Amendment, by a

process of misconstruction has given the judges the occasion for the exercise of absolute and arbitrary power.

The Fourteenth Amendment made the colored people "citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside." It then adds: "No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." The colored people for the protection of whose rights the amendment was passed have ceased to be regarded. The words "citizens of the United States" as now construed in practice mean any "railroad or other corporation." The words "due process of law" have been construed to embrace anything and everything, at the will of the judge.

Given a judiciary mostly recruited from the ranks of corporation lawyers and unable to put off the preconceived opinions and bias received in years of contests at the bar; removed from respect for popular judgment of their conduct, however arbitrary, by the most undemocratic provision of life tenure; armed with the self-assumed power of setting aside any legislation, whether State or Federal, as unconstitutional (of which they are sole judges); and of holding, at their irresponsible will and pleasure anything that displeases them to be "not due process of law," the result is that the Federal judges possess an irresponsible, unlimited and arbitrary power greater than any to which Plantagenet, Tudor or Stuart ever aspired.

Under skilful manipulation the Fourteenth Amendment has become like "Aaron's Rod" that swallowed all

the other rods. Under the construction of the Federal Judges, the Fourteenth Amendment effectually repeals both the Tenth Amendment and the Eleventh,—indeed, it reverses and reduces to naught all the other provisions of the Constitution which made that instrument one of granted powers and reserved all other powers to the States or the people thereof.

If the Federal judiciary can, at will, hold any act of any State Legislature, or of Congress, to be "not due process of law" and therefore unconstitutional, or can, as a Federal judge in North Carolina has done, enjoin the people of the State and its officials from putting in force a statute, which the judge has not even taken the time or the trouble to declare unconstitutional—in short, forbid them to even think about the matter until he shall have thought it over and settled it,—then we have found the *pou slo* of the old Greek, the ultimate source of all political power.

Judge Marshall and Judge Story both favored a strong central government, but they wrote: "The government of the United States can claim no powers which are not granted to it by the Constitution. . . . The powers actually granted must be such as are expressly given or by necessary implication."*

In the great case of *McCullough v. Maryland*, 4 Wheaton 405, Chief Justice Marshall said: "This government is acknowledged by all to be one of enumerated powers. The principle that it can exercise only the powers granted to it would seem too apparent to have required to be enforced by all those arguments which its enlightened friends, while it was depending before the people, found it necessary to urge. That principle is now universally admitted."

In *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton, 187, Chief Justice Marshall also said: "The genius and character of the whole government seems to be that its action is to be

*Story, J., in *Martin v. Hunter*, 1 Wheaton 326. Marshall, Chief Justice, in *Gibbons v. Ogden*, 9 Wheaton 187.

applied to all the external concerns of the nation and to those internal concerns which affect the States generally; but not those which are completely within a particular State, which do not affect other States, and with which it is not necessary to interfere, for the purpose of exercising some of the general powers of the government."

We may well ask, just here, in view of the above, whence comes the power of a subordinate Federal judge to suspend the operation of a State statute operating solely within the States by reducing railroad fares therein. If the statute violated any provision of the Federal Constitution, the remedy is to plead such right in the State Court, and if overruled there, the remedy is by writ of error to the United States Supreme Court. Under this new right claimed of Government by Federal Injunction, any subordinate United States judge can at will and arbitrarily suspend the operation of statutes enacted by the will of a free people through their representatives.

The sphere of the Federal Government and its limits have been settled and marked out by Judge Marshall as above quoted. George Washington in his Farewell Address thus said: "If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the mode which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for, though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly over-balance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield."

And in his first message to Congress, Abraham Lincoln said: "To maintain inviolate the rights of the States to order and control under the Constitution their own affairs by their own judgment exclusively, is essential for the preservation of that balance of power on which our institutions rest."

There may be some who think that the War essentially reversed the above quoted construction of the Constitution, but in *Texas vs. White*, 74 U. S. 700, decided in 1868, not only after the war but after the proclamation of the adoption of the Fourteenth Amendment, the United States Supreme Court, speaking through Chief Justice Chase, who had been a distinguished member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet, held that this was an "indissoluble union of indestructible States" and that while the success of the Union arms had settled that the Union was indissoluble, it had in no wise impaired the rights of the States or changed the nature of the Federal Government, as one possessing only powers enumerated and conferred by the Constitution.

This is far from the arbitrary and unlimited powers now claimed by the subordinate Federal judges, which if allowed will reduce the States to be mere geographical expressions and annihilate State legislatures and courts. The question is how to curb the power of these self-appointed custodians of absolute power.

It must be remembered that all the Federal courts below the Supreme Court are created, and their powers are conferred, by Congress, which can restrict or withdraw their powers and even abolish such courts and establish others at will. Indeed, in 1802 Congress did abolish sixteen circuit courts. And since that time it has abolished two district courts. While the Supreme Court is created by the Constitution, with specified powers, the Constitution adds, "with such exceptions and under such regulations as the Congress shall make." Those regulations Congress prescribed in the Judiciary Act of 1789, which Congress has amended often since. It has also increased or diminished the number of Supreme Court judges at will.

The remedy is therefore (1) that Congress should take from the subordinate Federal judges the power to grant injunctions whose effect will be to suspend any act of a State Legislature

or Congress. If any act is unconstitutional, let that be pleaded in the State court, with the right to review by writ of error in the United States Supreme Court. That was the time-honored and exclusive way till these later days. (2) The number of Federal District Judges and Circuit Judges should be diminished. New districts are made to furnish high salaries to politicians who cannot command popular approval. (3) The best remedy is to put the axe to the root of the tree by a Constitutional amendment, or by a Constitutional convention, which shall make all Federal judges elective for a term of years,—six, eight or ten years. The district judges could be chosen by the qualified voters in the respective districts. The circuit judges could be chosen in like manner in each circuit. The Union could be divided into nine divisions, for each of which a Supreme Court judge should be chosen, and the nine judges thus elected could choose one of their number Chief Justice.

At present the supreme power is not in the hands of the people but in the power of the judges, who can set aside at will any expression of the people's will made through an act of Congress or a State legislature. These judges are not chosen by the people nor subject to review by them. This is arbitrary power and the corporations have taken possession of it simply by naming a majority of the judges. Congress can curb this by restricting their powers and abolishing some of the districts. But the only root and branch remedy is in the hands of the people, by amending the Constitution as to the method of electing judges and abolishing the thoroughly undemocratic and dangerous life tenure.

The remedy is with the people themselves. I hold with that grand old patriot, James Hunter, who after the battle of the Alamance was lost declared, "I believe that the people are as much master now as ever."

Raleigh, N. C.

WALTER CLARK.

NEW ZEALAND: A NEW DEMOCRACY.

BY A. A. BROWN.

THE NEAREST approach to a perfect democracy attainable is a government for the great majority of the people, by the great majority of the people, either by direct-legislation, or by representatives of the great majority of the people.

A perfect democracy was the dream of the founders of this Republic. A plutocracy representing vested interests for vested interests, in opposition to the rights of the whole people, could not then have been anticipated,—the temper of the people being for “equality to all, special privileges to none.” Now that we have gone adrift, and are floundering in the rapids just above the great cataract over which, if we go, we plunge into revolution and bloodshed, for the millions cannot always withstand the oppression of the few, it is but natural for us to throw out the “life-line” and use our utmost endeavor to save ourselves from the impending conflict. We need not longer theorize on methods of government that offer safe anchorage. It is not my purpose to write a thesis on the fundamental principles of a government I would plan; but rather to discuss the principles of a government now in existence, that has practically demonstrated, and is now demonstrating by the enforcement of laws now on its statute books, that a government for the people, of the people and by the people is not only practical, but that it fosters happiness, contentment, prosperity, and equalizes the distribution of wealth, eliminates the national element of poverty, and forbids the concentration of the wealth of the nation in the hands of a few, that the many may suffer. In a country such as I have in mind, where the per capita wealth represents the unparalleled sum of \$1,510 as against \$36 in the United States, if the same legislative methods

were employed, there would be such an opportunity for concentration that a few men as conscienceless as Rockefeller or Morgan or Harriman or Ryan, would soon be the complete masters of the dominion. And yet in New Zealand, where this vast wealth exists, there is neither a millionaire nor a pauper. I do not mean to say that there is not great personal wealth, nor would I mislead my readers into believing that there are no poor. There are both, but by a very wise system of a graduated income tax, and the “land for settlements consolidation act,” inordinate concentration of wealth is impossible, and the necessity imposed on all men to labor. There is in truth not a pauper in the colony, nor is there a poorhouse. There are benevolent institutions for the maintenance of the very aged, the helpless and the infirm, but an asylum for the harboring of the able-bodied waster is unknown. He must work. In securing employment the government, if necessary, will lend its aid; but he may not become a charity charge upon the community.

The test of all proposed legislation is the antithesis of the American test,—not how will this act advance the interests of a particular industry and enable it to roll the car of Juggernaut over the masses; but how will this act effect *the people, the whole people*; for the function of government is not to foster vested interests, but to protect the helpless, the many, the weak, against the encroachments of the selfish, the heartless, the strong. I stop in anticipation to answer a question: Is it not a fact that capital will shun such a land, and either migrate or refuse to invest?

My answer is another question: Will not industry and capital find greater opportunity in a land where wealth is

equally distributed, where every man and woman has a fair share of this world's goods, than in a land where the wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few, and where the millions are patrons of soup kitchens and charges upon charitable institutions and organizations?

I am asked: Are there not a great many people in New Zealand not in accord with the laws of the colony? Certainly; the great coal operators of the west coast, who would form a combine and raise the price of coal to the highest possible limit, are opposed to the government-ownership of coal mines, which, though inoperative now, are the people's safety-valve, for upon the first move of the great private interests in the direction of a combine, the government will immediately open its mines and provide coal to the people at cost.

The great British fire insurance companies are opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for when they formed an association in New Zealand and arbitrarily advanced premiums 30 per cent. to 33 per cent. the government created by act of Parliament The State Fire Insurance department, wherein the state undertook the writing of fire insurance at rates lower than the rates of the British companies before the advance, thus saving more than £150,000 to the people of New Zealand in premiums per annum.

The land monopolist is opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for he is forbidden by act of Parliament to hold great areas to his individual profit, when there is a demand for small holdings by the many. The government recognizes the rights of the masses over the vested right of the individual.

Shylock is opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for the government will lend money to the settler under the "Government advance to the settlers' act," at the rate of 4½ per cent. per annum, thus making it possible for *the people* to borrow and pay; while under

Shylock's methods the people would borrow, and then sacrifice their all to the mercenary monster who would demand the last pound of flesh.

The private promoter in public utilities is opposed to the laws of New Zealand, for the government holds that all these vest in *the people* and that by no possible fiat of legislative legerdemain can they be vested in an individual; they belong primarily to *the people*, and whatever conveniences or benefits they may yield by development or use must be for the benefit of the whole people. Thus the government owns the railways, —the theory being that railways are "improved highways" and belong to the people, as do the highways and turnpikes. Dining cars are provided, and meals are served at two shillings or fifty cents, the estimated cost of food and service, a public convenience under the direction and control of the government, operated at the cost of maintenance only. The government (and by the government I of course mean the people) owns the telegraph lines, telephones, street-railways (with one exception), water-works, gas and electric light plants, and operates them upon an earning basis that will provide for the interest on the actual cost of construction, and a sinking fund necessary to redeem maturing bonds. There are no "watered stocks" nor high salaried ornamental figure-heads to provide for; thus all domestic telegrams of twelve words and under are dispatched for sixpence. Street-car fares, according to distance travelled, are one penny, two-pence and three-pence. Electric light, gas and water rates are too low to be considered a burden upon the humblest family in the colony. They are supplied to the consumer in compliance with the reasonable theory that electricity, gas and water are the products of nature and are the common heritage of the human race, to the use of which mankind is entitled upon the payment of such fees or tolls as will pay for installation, maintenance and service.

New Zealand has solved the problem of industrial disputes, strikes and lock-outs; therefore it is a land of industrial peace. Its "Industrial conciliation and arbitration acts," were conceived and enacted to the end that the employer might not be tormented by discontented labor urged to unreasonable or captious demands by the "walking delegate," and that labor might be secure from a lock-out on the part of the employer to punish a real or imaginary grievance inflicted by one or two agitators.*

There is one striking novelty connected with this legislation that would arouse positive opposition in any legislature in the United States. It is not intended to reflect discredit upon an honorable and learned profession, but it is intended to avoid all legal technicalities that operate to increase costs, confuse issues or prolong litigation, and the court has so construed this section that the complaint, the answer and all pleading must

*The following explanatory facts relating to this legislation may be of value to serious students of social conditions in America:

Under the act, "employer" includes "persons, firms, companies, and corporations employing one or more workers." "Worker" means "any person of any age, of either sex, employed by any employer to do any skilled or unskilled manual or clerical work for hire or reward."

"Industry" means "any business, trade, manufacture, undertaking, calling or employment in which workers are employed."

"Industrial dispute" means "any dispute arising between one or more employers and one or more industrial unions or associations of workers in relation to industrial matters."

"Industrial matters" means "all matters affecting or relating to work done, or to be done by workers, or the privileges, rights and duties of employers or workers in any industry, not involving questions which are or may be the subject of proceedings for an indictable offence: and without limiting the general nature of the above definitions, includes all matters relating to—

(a) "The wages, allowances, or remuneration of workers, employed in any industry, or the price paid or to be paid therein in respect of such employment;

(b) "The hours of employment, sex, age, qualification, or status of workers, and the mode, terms and conditions of employment;

(c) "The employment of children or young persons, or of any person or persons, in any industry, or the dismissal of or refusal to employ any particular person or persons or class of persons therein;

be prepared by the parties interested, in their own simple phraseology, free from legal verbiage. The object the court keeps in view is to open the court to the humblest citizen as well as to the most influential and powerful.

"No barrister or solicitor, whether acting under a power of attorney or otherwise, shall be allowed to appear or be heard before a Board, or any committee thereof, unless all the parties to the reference expressly consent thereto. . . .

"The court shall consist of three members, who shall be appointed by the governor.

"Of the three members of the court, one shall be appointed on the recommendation of the industrial unions of employers, and one on the recommendation of the industrial unions of workers. The third shall be a Judge of the Supreme Court and shall be President of the Court.

"The court shall have jurisdiction for

(d) "The claim of members of an industrial union of employés to preference of service from unemployed members of an industrial union of workers;

(e) "The claim of members of industrial unions of workers to be employed in preference to non-members;

(f) "Any established custom or usage of any industry, either generally or in the particular district affected.

"Subject to the provisions of this act, any society consisting of not less than two persons in the case of employers, or seven in the case of workers, lawfully associated for the purpose of protecting or furthering the interests of employers or workers in or in connection with any specified industry or industries in New Zealand, may be registered as an industrial union under this act.

"The effect of registration shall be to render the industrial union, and all persons who are members thereof at the time of registration, or who after such registration become members thereof, subject to the jurisdiction by this act given to a Board and the court respectively, and liable to all the provisions of this act, and all such persons shall be bound by the rules of the industrial union during the continuance of their membership.

"An industrial dispute may relate either to the industry in which the party by whom the dispute is referred for settlement to a Board or the court, as hereinafter provided, is engaged or concerned, or to any industry related thereto.

"Every industrial agreement shall be for a term to be specified therein, not exceeding three years from the date of the making thereof. . . ."

the settlement and determination of any industrial dispute referred to it under the provisions of this act."

I have now indicated something of the purposes of the act, the personnel of the court, and its jurisdiction. Let me add that in all things it has all the powers of a court: to enforce attendance of witnesses, take evidence on oath, and its findings or judgments carry all the force of a judgment of the Supreme Court, and it may enforce its judgments in like manner. Any violation of its findings, either by employer or employé, constitutes "contempt of court" and may be punished by fine or imprisonment, or both, at the option of the President of the Court.

Just one word more as to the beneficial results of this legislation.

The employer is guaranteed in the stability of his labor; he can plan and contract for future deliveries or work within the term of three years, and know positively that his labor may not and cannot handicap him with a demand for new conditions; and on the other hand, labor is assured of employment without a change in hours or wages within a term of three years; and from my personal knowledge of the operation of the act, I can testify that neither employer nor employé would sanction for a moment its repeal.

New Zealand is the only country in the world where a "worker" can buy his home from the government practically without money, pay nothing for it, secure a title to it, and have money left when the fee is conveyed to him. Let me illustrate this seeming paradox in financing.

A "worker" under the act means every person, male or female, who is employed in work of any kind or in manual labor, and who at the time of his application is not in receipt of more than one hundred and fifty-six pounds per annum (\$15.00 per week). Ordinarily such an one pays the landlord from ten to fifteen per cent. on the

landlord's investment in some tenement house or unsuitable dwelling. Now, the government holds to the position that this tenant would be a better citizen, would be more loyal and contented, if he had a home—a freehold. To this end the government will build for him a "worker's" dwelling which he may acquire by a life insurance policy.

That is: "He shall pay a rent which shall be payable monthly, and shall be at the rate of five per centum per annum on the capital value of the worker's dwelling" (being five per centum for rent and one per centum for depreciation) "in addition to the cost of insuring the dwelling from fire at its full insurable value." This will leave him the other five to ten per cent. that would otherwise have gone to a landlord, to be used in paying premiums in the Government life insurance department for the amount of the "capital value of the worker's dwelling," this policy to be an endowment contract extending over a period of 25 or 32 years, so that the premiums are very light. Should the insured die after the payment of the first premium, his death matures the policy and the freehold vests in the widow. Should he die at any further period of the life of the policy, the freehold vests in the widow, together with the dividends earned on the policy, and should the insured live to the maturity of the policy, he receives from the government the dividends earned on the policy, which amount to nearly as great a sum as all the premiums paid, the government taking the face of the contract only.

Or: the "worker" may acquire the freehold "by monthly payments over a period of thirty-two years, at the rate of eight per centum per annum, on the capital value (being five per centum for rent, one per centum for depreciation, and two per centum for capital value)."

Or: "By monthly payments over a period of forty-one years, at the rate of six and one-half per centum per annum on the capital value (being four per

centum for rent, one per centum for depreciation, and one and one-half per centum capital value)."

Under the operation of this act it may be readily seen that it is an effectual bar to excessive demands from the landlord for rents, and opens the door for every "worker" to provide a home for his widow in the event of his death, or to acquire a home for himself in the event of his living for a given term. Thus we see New Zealand developing into a land of home-owners; the "landless" are disappearing; a landed aristocracy is impossible, and poverty is practically unknown.

The first "Act to provide old-age pensions" placed upon any statute book in the world declared that: "Whereas it is equitable that deserving persons who during the prime of life have helped to bear the public burdens of the colony by the payment of taxes, and to open up its resources by their labor and skill, should receive from the colony a pension in their old age," etc. This act, however, did not apply to *all* persons of the full age of sixty-five, for there were many limitations as to income, residence, character, criminal record, value of accumulated property, etc. The act refers to the aged whose record through life is an honorable one, and whose necessities, when the infirmities of years have crept upon them, demand some assistance; and who better able to give this than the colony to which they have contributed so much in building it up? The amount of the pension is eighteen pounds provided per year, diminished by one pound for every complete pound of income above thirty-four pounds.* It will thus be seen that the government provides the difference between income and fifty-two pounds per annum, or a total of one pound per week, the conditions applying to husband and wife alike. Were you ever opposed to such a gratuity from a government to its deserving aged, you would but need to see the gratitude

*One pound sterling is the equivalent of \$4.87.

expressed in the happy smiles of the recipient who by this act continues to be an independent citizen, for whom a charitable institution has no terrors, and the stigma of an "inmate" does not attach. By this act, their declining years are tempered with a just recognition of a grateful state so governed that want shall never be felt by its deserving wards who have lived honorable lives, who have buffeted with the storms of life's struggle, and have failed, but who have done their share toward nation-building.

I have said that Shylock was opposed to the laws of New Zealand, and why not? The government stands between the "settlers" or farmers and the usurer. Under the "Government advance to settlers" act it may loan money to the farmer at five per centum per annum, secured by mortgage, of course, and so provided with safeguards that the government may be thoroughly secured and the mortagor relieved from the despotism of the "money-lender." Such loans from the government may be repaid in seventy-three half-yearly installments, but to encourage thrift and frugality the government offers a premium in the shape of a rebate of a certain portion of the interest, and other concessions measured by the time the loan has been shortened by the mortagor.

It may be interesting to know the fees for granting loans, preparing mortgage, perusing title and registering the mortgage.

For an advance of—	The total fees are—
£250 (\$1,200).....	£0 7s. 6d. or \$1.87
250 to £500.....	0 10s. 0d. or 2.50
500 to 750.....	0 15s. 0d. or 3.75
750 to 1,000.....	1 1s. 0d. or 5.25
2,000 to 3,000.....	1 17s. 6d. or 9.37

The system of the New Zealand government is, to carry its operations so near to the body of the people that all the people shall come into personal contact with the machinery of the political life of the colony. Thus, the post-offices are created government savings banks, and as *the people* are coming into touch daily with the post-office, the

fact that they are a national depository for savings, encourages thrift by the psychological law of suggestion. As a matter of fact, there are more savings bank accounts in New Zealand than in any other nation on earth. Statistics show that every 3.31 persons in New Zealand is a depositor in the National Savings Bank; in other words, if it be true that an average family numbers five persons, we see that there are nearly two savings bank accounts for each family in the colony, and the average account represents £32, or \$160.

In the payment of taxes the same principles apply; they may be paid into the money-order department of the local post-office, thence transmitted to the Commissioner of Taxes at Wellington. Thus, again the government is brought into close proximity to the people, and they learn to feel that they are *the people* and that the public officers are public servants performing a public duty, rather than political despots dominating the will of the people.

Again, the government comes into the very closest possible relationship to the people through the office of Public Trustee, who is the official in charge of the office of Public Trusts. In the administration of estates of all persons who die intestate, and as executor of estates wherein the "Public Trust" has been appointed by will, this office serves the people at the lowest possible cost to the estate.

The uninformed no less than the subsidized press may loudly echo the phrases of the paid agents of privileged interests and clamor against practical measures that foster a genuine democracy; but a personal experience under the beneficent influences of such a government will teach the open-minded student of political economy that a government of the people, for the people and by the people is the richest heritage bequeathed to a free and intelligent people.

A. A. BROWN.

Victoria, B. C.

IDEALISM: A SKETCH. PART II. KANT'S DOCTRINE THAT THE HUMAN MIND IS BOTH THE CREATOR AND LAW-GIVER OF THE PHYSICAL UNIVERSE.

BY JUDGE L. H. JONES.

ACCORDING to Kant, "the three stages of intelligence may be called sense-perception, understanding, reason. In man, the being intermediate between the animal and God, all three are to be found; while the animal possesses sense-perception alone, God reason alone. Sense-perception is the capacity of receiving sensations, the receptivity for affections. . . . The forms of receptivity are space and time; the product of sense-perception, a plurality of perceptions in space and time. . . ."

The understanding "introduces law and systematic connection among individual perceptions. The product of sense-perception and understanding together is the system of nature, arranged in space and time in conformity with law as [physical] science presents it to us. Reason is the faculty of passing beyond the empirical world to the supersensuous; its product is the ideal world, the *mundus intelligibilis*. It is, properly speaking, the form of the divine thought that is employed in the intuition of existence in

the form of ideas immanent in it. Human reason is only a feeble reflection of the absolute reason."*

"We may now appreciate the final meaning of the notion of the *mundus sensibilis* and *intelligibilis*. The world is intelligible for the divine understanding, the *intellectus archetypus*, and it is completely included in God's thought. It is therefore in itself an ideal unity; the *mundus noumenon* is, as its name implies, an existing system of ideas. The reality presented to the human intellect is, on the other hand, sensible and phenomenal; the world of divine ideas manifests itself to it as a sensuous, changing, corporeal world in motion, which it laboriously and imperfectly strives to master, not by means of pure thought, but by experience."[†]

"These ideas seem to lead to a pantheistic view. But that is not Kant's meaning. . . . God is the unitary principle that fashions things, but is not merged in things. The relation of God to things is perhaps intelligible through the relation of the understanding to concepts. Concepts are in the understanding and [the understanding is in the concepts, but it is not identified with them. It is not the sum-total of them, but their presupposition, the principle by means of which they are posited. Thus God is the supramundane principle, by means of which 'the natures of things,' existing ideas or things-in-themselves, are posited. Obviously, this does not include bodies, which are nothing but the representation of things in our sense-perception. That which God creates is the intelligible world, the world of *noumena*.

"This differentiation of God from the world—not from the corporeal world of phenomena, which does not exist at all for him, but from the intelligible world—is merely touched upon in the *Critique of Pure Reason*, but is often discussed in the *Lectures*.[‡]

*Paulsen's *Kant*, pp. 152-3.

[†]*Ibid.*, p. 153.

[‡]*Ibid.*, pp. 262-3.

"The notion of the world of appearance, of the *mundus sensibilis*, with which the critical period starts out, implies as a necessary correlate the notion of a real world that appears. Without this, the idea of the phenomenal would be meaningless."[§]

"In reflecting critically on its own nature and limits, the understanding recognizes that there is an absolute reality beyond the world of sense. And now the spirit (which is something more than the understanding) claims, as a moral being, to be a member of this absolute reality, and defines the nature of this reality through its own essence." In other words, "that which is born of the Spirit, it is the spirit." (John, 3: 6.) "This is Kant's doctrine of the primacy of the practical reason over the theoretical."^{||}

"'The transcendental philosophy,' Kant says, 'has for its object the founding of a metaphysic whose purpose, as the chief end of pure reason, is intended to lead reason beyond the limits of the sensible world to the field of the super-sensible.' And he repeatedly defines metaphysics as a science 'of advancing from knowledge of the sensible to that of the super-sensible. . . . Indeed, the *trans physicam* gives the direction to Kant's whole thought; the *mundus intelligibilis* is its goal. The first step towards it is the transcendental idealism. By means of the principle of the ideality of space and time, it establishes the ideality of matter. *The corporeal world is nothing but phenomenal, and sense-perceptions are the material out of which it is built.*"[¶]

Kant's position that the human mind produces material nature and prescribes its laws is further brought out and emphasized in Professor Eckoff's introduction to the *Dissertation* of 1770, as follows: "The reply of Kant to Hume, in which the Königsberg philosopher makes causality a 'function of the under-

[¶]*Ibid.*, p. 154.

^{||}Paulsen, p. 6.

^{||}*Ibid.*, pp. 242-3.

standing' is of the profoundest significance. The proclamation of the human mind as the law-giver of nature marks a turning-point in the whole history of metaphysics. Kant was the first who dared to say: *it may sound exaggerated and absurd to say that the understanding is the source both of the laws and of the unity of nature. It is correct, nevertheless, and accords with experience.*"

Now Jesus proved by practical application the ideality of both space and matter, as, by disappearing suddenly from those about him, by passing bodily through closed doors; and, on the lake, when the disciples, because of adverse winds had been rowing all night and were yet a long way from the shore, Jesus coming to them walking on the water was received into the boat and, John adds, "Immediately the ship was at the land whither they went." (John, 6: 21.) Jesus knew the ideality of space or distance and the knowing of this truth freed him and those with him from the limitations which a mistaken belief in the reality of distance had imposed upon them. In the same way he overcame other human concepts, falsely called laws of nature, as by quieting the winds and the waves, by simply knowing that such turbulence is not a manifestation of real nature but of the mortal or human mind. Inasmuch as the human mind prescribes the laws of nature (so-called), the setting aside of any such law by the divine Mind does not involve a conflict of laws but merely the assertion of real law as against unreal law. Jesus wrought his miracles not by the suspension of law but by the assertion of real law, the law of reality, of the real universe, the *mundus intelligibilis*.

The same logical necessity which drove Kant to the conclusion that God did not create and does not know of the sensible or physical universe, compels the same conclusion with regard to physical man and his material consciousness. God did not create and does not know of the existence of any such man,

for the very sufficient reason that no such man or consciousness has real existence. If any such man or consciousness really existed God would certainly know of it. But neither sense-perception nor the human understanding which alone construct the sensible universe so-called is, according to Kant, attributable to God. God is the pure practical Reason; and man, the only real man, being the image and likeness, however feeble, of this pure Reason, has likewise neither sense-perception nor sense-consciousness. There is no gainsaying this conclusion as to man, even from the standpoint of philosophy; it has its warrant in the whole Kantian system, with Plato looming large above the horizon of a distant past. A thing can not be said to have real being which is not known to God. The only way to have real being is to be known of God, to be an idea of the practical Reason. But the carnal man or consciousness "is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be" (Rom., 8: 7); that is, is not subject to the law or categories of divine knowing and therefore can neither know the ideas of pure Reason nor be known as an idea of pure Reason, and has therefore no real being.

Thus, as with other phenomena so with man: "Space itself, however, as well as time, and with them all phenomena, are not things by themselves, but representations, and can not exist outside our mind; and even the internal sensuous intuition of our mind (as an object of consciousness) which is represented as determined by the succession of different states in time, is not a real self, as it exists by itself, or what is called the transcendental subject, but a phenomenon only, given to the sensibility of this to us unknown being."*

And again: "The logical nature, understanding and reason, is really the ego-in-itself, while, on the other hand, time and space belong merely to sentiency, to the sense representation of the

**Critique of Pure Reason*, p. 401.

ego, which as phenomenal can pass away (at death). But there remains the ego as a pure thinking essence, free from space and time, a spaceless and timeless pure thinking spirit.*

Through his doctrine of the correlation of the *mundus sensibilis* and the *mundus intelligibilis* and the unity of experience which it suggests, Kant was naturally led to differentiate between the sense consciousness-in-general and the psychological consciousness or individual reflection of the consciousness-in-general in individual experience. Ernest Bax in his preface to the *Prolegomena* mentions this as Kant's greatest service. However that may be, it affords an excellent illustration of how the mortal or human mind—the sense-mind, so to speak—seeks to counterfeit the unity, or oneness of divine Mind or, as Kant puts it, the practical Reason; and, at the same time, it offers a helpful theory on which to work out of our false sense of the reality of matter. That which Kant refers to as "the unity of experience" and "the progressive possibility of experience," John Stuart Mill utilizes under the expression "Permanent Possibility of Sensations" as his definition of matter. "Matter," he says, "then, may be defined a Permanent Possibility of Sensation. If I am asked whether I believe in matter, I ask whether the questioner accepts this definition of it. If he does, I believe in matter: and so do all Berkeleyans. In any other sense than this, I do not."[†] Now, to reduce a thing to a mere possibility, however permanent the possibility, certainly robs it of every quality as a material substance; furthermore, a sensation being a mental state, a possibility of sensations can be nothing more than a possibility of mental states. Moreover, under the magic of Mill's discriminating thought, this Permanent Possibility of Sensation is further resolved into merely a *belief* of a permanent possibility of sensation; and with this

belief as a background or substratum the human mind, according to Mill, constructs its external or material world.

This consciousness-in-general means that universal empirical (mortal-mind) consciousness, or perhaps it would be more correct to say possibility of consciousness, which embraces in potentiality all sensations, or rather, all sense experience, which, under any conceivable condition of normality, is possible to the human race, excluding such modifications of experience as may be due to the peculiar organism of the individual. Sense phenomena have not actuality except as they are perceived in some individual consciousness; but although they may not be actually present at some particular moment in the consciousness of any individual, they nevertheless continue, not as phenomena, but as a possibility of becoming phenomena according to the laws of connected, universal, empirical experience. When, therefore, Christian Science teaches that the objects of material nature exist in mind only, it does not mean that they are dependent upon this or that individual subjectively for existence, but that they exist, in belief, as a continuing potentiality in universal mortal mind, subject to be actualized in individual experience whenever a normal occasion for such actualization shall arise. Which means nothing more than that mortal mind claims to imitate the processes of divine Mind.

These views should help to relieve our thought of the crude notions of workmanship which in the early period of our development we are apt to associate with the idea of creation. We think of God as making things like a human artificer, and even as going outside of Himself for material out of which to make His wares. But as our minds develop under the discipline of reflective thought, we begin to realize that creation could not be a less excellent act than the Father's Self-realization, the realization of His own Self-sufficient nature and identity.

*Paulsen's *Kant*, p. 185.

†Exam. of Sir Wm. Ham. Phil., I., 243.

One finds rest in the thought that creation is simply the Good realizing or expressing His blessedness, giving objectivity to His ideals in images, ideas, or living forms of beauty. The highest of these ideas is of course God's act of Self-consciousness, God's thought, idea, or consciousness of Himself, which is individual in as much as it expresses God's consciousness of His own individuality, which is compound in as much as it embraces all other ideas, or the whole creative thought, and which, being the expressed image, ideal or likeness of

God Himself, is, therefore, Man. Thus, the reflective or conceptual activity and identity of Mind (God's conception of Himself) is the image and likeness of His originative or creative activity; and God is All-in-All, both noumenon and phenomena. As Mrs. Eddy says in the Christian Science text-book, *Science and Health, with Key to the Scriptures*, pages 114-10: "In Science, Mind is one, including noumenon and phenomena, God and His thoughts."

L. H. JONES.

Louisville, Ky.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND PRESENT-DAY CIVILIZATION: A CRITICISM.

WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG.

POLITICAL economy, though known in former times, has not been regarded as a science for much more than one hundred years. A wise man named Smith stated its laws in the latter part of the last century.

This science assumes that there is enough work in this world for every man and woman; that they can always find this work near at hand; that there will always be enough products of human labor—food, shelter and clothing—to go round—and never too few or too many; for a mysterious thing called "Supply and Demand" attends to all that. This science assumes that there will never be too few or too many laborers in one kind of work; because if there are too few, the products of that work will become scarce and dear, and the wages high, and other laborers will come in; if there are too many, the products of the work will become plentiful and cheap, the wages low, and laborers will go into some other occupation where there is greater demand—that another mysterious thing

called "Freedom of Contract" will take care of all that.

That science tells us that competition in each industry, and between the various industries, will keep the price of products reasonable and the profits of the various industries uniform and equitable, giving each man a fair chance in the struggle for life.

The scheme of this beautiful science, when they had worked out all its mysterious details,—capital, wages, profit, rent, interest, etc.,—they called by an elegant French name, *laissez faire*—the philosophy of "let-alone" or "let-go." They asserted that it had been in operation for two or three thousand years, and that it was the only science that would afford liberty and happiness to humanity.

There is a great deal of wisdom in this splendid and elaborate science. There is a great deal of truth that has not been entirely escaped by its mysterious doctrines. The study of these doctrines has brought a great deal of

knowledge as well as a great deal of insanity into this world. There must always be some insanity in anything which is respectable. This science is respectable, but it is not fascinating.

Political economy is believed in implicitly by a great many English and American college professors. That settles its social status. Inside of some of these institutions called universities, where they teach theology, astronomy and dead languages, it is perfectly satisfactory. The professors get five thousand dollars a year; the students are the sons and daughters of comfortable families, where supply and demand are always equal, and *laissez faire* works like a charm.

Independently of these facts, Mr. Smith's theory of political economy, invented before the discovery of steam-power and electricity, is fit to be the monument of the genius of any man. It was a great thing to do in his time. I speak of it reverently.

But this theory called *laissez faire*, placed in practice on American soil consecrated a century ago to equal rights, has created in that century a vast result of human inequality. It has distorted the just conditions of social life. It has estranged classes of citizens. It has placed the wages of toil in the hands of idleness. It has made Cunning a prince and Honesty a pauper. It has made Industry a slave to feed Indolence as a parasite. It has written despair over the doorways of millions of homes. It has dwarfed Childhood with premature toil. It has filled the breast of Labor with discontent, and the streets of cities with the tramp of soldiers in times of peace. It has placed manufacture under the surveillance and protection of hired detectives—the Pinkertons and the police. It has laid the dead hand of debt on the ploughman, and pawned the lands of the West to the princes of the East. It has given to millionaire gamblers and railroad monarchs the power to lay an embargo on the wheat fields of the prairies, and

"with a stroke of a pen to make famine crouch in the streets of our cities." It has made tender women toil for the pittance of beggars, or flee to prostitution for bread. It has made the anarchist and the tramp. It has handed over to merciless corporations the gigantic industries of the nation, to unseat the will and debauch the conscience of the nation itself. It has enfeebled the sense of national honor. It has made pillage for private greed of the resources of a mighty and generous people. It has kidnapped for monopoly the government of the United States.

So much for *laissez faire* in unrestricted play on American soil for a century! It has shown this nation, which began in liberty a century ago, of the power of volition—the Delilah to the American giant. In the streets of our cities, on election days, the vote of an American sovereign is bought for a barrel of flour, because bread has become more precious than the ballot. In twenty states of this Union we innocently ask which is the railroad's candidate for Congress. That settles the question.

Every American industry passes rapidly into the hands of monopoly. The millions that are made pass to the pockets of the few, the Jack Sheppards and Dick Turpins of American society. These are the gentlemen in the United States Senate, who sit like kings at the head of syndicates, give feasts like Lucullus, purchase admiration of a grateful people by flinging back to them in charities a fragment of the spoils of which they have robbed them, and lie in marble mausoleums costing a hundred and fifty thousand dollars, when they are dead. We do not envy them, living or dead. They, too, are the victims of the industrial morals of their time. But we do say that no dead American has right to lie under a grave-stone worth a hundred and fifty thousand dollars while a live American woman is starving in a garret.

The wealth of this world belongs to the quick and not to the dead. Civilization

is not rich enough to furnish mausoleums for dead capitalists,—or yachts for live ones. Its industries should be devoted to producing the necessities of life as long as one needy human being exists.

So much for eighteenth century political economy in twentieth century civilization. So much for the science of an age of dreams in an age of steam. So much for the results of the philosophy of Adam Smith in the New Republic.

But how about it considered theoretically? What can be said for its intelligence? It has not been a success in practice, yet it may be wise in theory.

But let us see! This science is the alleged science of supply and demand. We are told that this principle will regulate and adjust the conditions of human labor. But for more than half a century the most remarkable and persistent feature of our modern industrial order has been the war between capital and labor—between employer and employed. Ugly things called strikes and lock-outs cover every civilized land. Scarcely a month passes but shops and mills close industries cease, and thousands and hundreds of thousands of workingmen turn to idleness in the streets. The sensitive ear of humanity is assailed with the clangor of human rage and suffering. The man with the purse is testing the supply of labor to purchase it at the most beggarly price. The man with a tin bucket is testing capital to get a larger share of profit.

The United States government, through its department of labor, has looked into this matter. It finds that ten millions of days' abor are lost through this conflict to the productive force of this country in a single year. I has found that the loss to the country in the same time by this cause is \$300,000,000—enough to support the fearful drain of another war at nearly a million a day. This is scientific economy with a vengeance. This is the *laissez faire* of the college professors at full play.

There is another feature of this sci-

entific economy. Under it a man or a set of men with a bank account sets up a manufactory of products o food or clothing or soap or pills or iron nails. Other men and other companies set up other manufactories of these goods in other parts of the country. These establishments know nothing accurately of the conditions of the supply or demand in these products. There is no understanding between them. There cannot be by the nature of the case; this is competition. They know nothing accurately of the ability or intentions of each other in regard to production. So they manufacture goods at full steam, launch them by all cunning ways on the great unknown sea of demand, the market; and each tries to steal the trade and crush the business of his rivals; for this is the Christian principle of modern competition.

Some day, early in the morning, it is found that here are more soap, and starch and shoes and sugar and suspenders and cotton goods, and iron nails, than anybody or everybody will buy. Pills have become, so to speak, a "drug in the market." Factories suspend or close. Workmen are turned into the streets. Without wages they cannot buy these goods or other goods. They want them, but cannot buy them. This the professors of Mr. Smith's political economy call "Over-production." Then other manufactories suspend. There is a crash—universal poverty and misery. But the professors are prepared for this also. They give it a scientific name. They call it an "Industrial Depression." That vindicates their science.

But this system without organic unity or coördination is the scientific scheme of political economy in the first quarter of the twentieth century among civilized peoples.

Let us suppose that a visitor from another world should come to this planet in one of these periods of industrial depression. He would pass over the land and see the prairies waving with

golden grain, the barns and bins heaped full with accumulated harvests, the pork fattening in the valleys, the cattle feeding on a thousand hills. He would see the warehouses and shops of the hamlets and great cities filled with the supplies of human want—with stores of food and clothing and luxuries. He would see millions of strong men idle and threadbare and hungry in the roads and streets—millions of sad-eyed women and children standing by the shop windows looking longingly upon the piled objects of their need—which they could not buy. He would see millions more with the fear of the future shadowing their faces. Then he would ask a few questions and return to his own planet and report to the council of his people. He would tell the strange and pitiful tale of want in the midst of plenty. They would ask him in amazement whether he had received no explanation of such a strange condition of things as this. He would answer that he had; that he had applied to the college professors—the political economists; that they had made the matter quite clear; that these gentlemen had assured him that the reason why their fellow-citizens were idle was because too much work had been done in the world; that the reason why women and children were threadbare and ragged was because there was too much clothing; the reason why they were homeless was because there were too many houses; that the reason why men were starving was because there was too much wheat and bread! that there was a "glut in the market"—over-production—and consequently "an industrial depression!"

So much for the intelligence of *laissez faire*! How stands its morality? In one of the royal libraries of the world there was said to be extant a few centuries ago an ancient book, entitled *A History of Snakes in Ireland*. That volume, with its many chapters, and its curious binding of massive gilt and gold, contained but a single sentence. That sentence was as follows: "As to snakes

in Ireland, there are none there." A similar volume would hold the description of the morality of *laissez faire* political economy—the doctrine of the modern competitive system of labor. There is none *there*.

Professor J. Stanley Jevons, one of the high priests of this doctrine, informs us in one of his books that the first step in the study of political economy is to rid the mind of the notion that there are any such things in matters of social industry as "abstract rights."

That is the morality of Wall street—just sufficient to keep out of the penitentiary! That is the morality of the Paul Cliffords and Jesse Jameses, who hold up railroad trains. That is the morality of Rockefeller, who buys up a hundred oil fields at a stroke to keep up the price of the poor man's light. These gentlemen are the apt and searching pupils of Mr. Jevons. His political economy furnishes the convenient principle of their trade. *They* are not troubled about abstract rights. *They* are political economists!

A professor of Yale College, another unextinct pachyderm of modern learning, assures us that "social classes owe nothing to each other." Why is it that when the schemes of Satan are to be upheld in this world, the wisdom of the university and pulpit is so often at its call?—slavery, autocracy, robbery!

They prove to us, with curious and labored statistics, that the condition of the laborer of to-day is better than that of the poor man of history. They assail us with the maudlin argument that the modern workingman enjoys comforts unknown to the prince of a few centuries ago; that the feudal lord, like his serf, slept on bulrushes, and the modern poor man under a blanket—as if it were a question of bedclothes rather than of the security of sleep!

There is a difference between absolute and relative poverty. The poverty of past centuries was relative. That of to-day is absolute. The blankets and

bread of the nineteenth century are better than the rushes and crusts of the middle ages; but humanity in the middle ages was at least certain of its crusts and rushes.

The morality of the competitive system, outside of a book, is the morality of medieval barbarism that made Might the basis of Right—the savage doctrine of the survival of the strongest, that strips Humanity naked at the feet of Cunning; that places manhood at the mercy of meanness; that asserts in the sunrise of the twentieth century that man is merchandise—his heart and brain to be bought and sold in the cheapest market, like a bundle of old furs!

Primitive man, the man of the woods and caves, would not endure hunger and want. He emerged for conquests and spoils. "The ravages of Atilla and Geneseric began from the stomach." Civilized want is shy and modest. It dresses itself, if it may, in the garb of respectability. It smiles in the face of the pitiless world. But underneath this ghastly complacence there exists to-day in the sharpened sensibilities of modern men and women a mass of acute agonies such as never pierced the heart of savage races.

The industrial competition under which we live is adjusted only to the satisfaction of the fortunate. Those who fall in the struggle with the praises of human dignity and equality ringing in their ears, naturally accuse the scheme which has brought them despair. Victor Hugo has said, "The Paradise of the rich is the hell of the poor." Under the American flag there should be no hungry man. On American soil there should be no want. A great philosopher has said that while there exists an honest man without enough to eat, no man should have more than enough.

But they tell us of the freedom of contract—the sacred freedom of contract between wealth and the workingman! That is freedom indeed!—the "iron law of wages!" Wealth can wait; wages

starve in a day. The freedom of contract with Death in the scales against the workingman!

That is the grim sarcasm of the freedom of contract.

Cardinal Manning, the great Catholic Englishman, declares that the freedom of contract on which political economy glorifies itself "cannot be rightly said to exist." He appeals to the great Catholic Church to protect the laboring poor who have builded the modern commonwealths.

It was said of the Italian Cæsar Borgia, that he was a soldier every inch of him, but a villain to the last fiber. Cæsar Borgia said: "If a man wishes for success he must not hesitate to make stepping-stones of the corpses of his neighbors."

That is the morals of nineteenth-century Industry. A heart of flint and a conscience as devoid of moral consideration as an absence of all fear can make it, are the chief stock in trade for success in modern competition.

But the gentlemen of the colleges assure us that the evils of the competitive scheme arise not from the use but from the abuse of that system. They are right. The unrestricted use of that scheme anywhere in this world is its abuse. That scheme carries within it the seeds of its own defeat. It insures combination. Where combination is possible, competition is impossible. The wages of labor do not purchase back the products of labor. There follows stagnation, depression, wrong.

That is your beautiful Adonis, *laissez faire*, when stripped naked! It is a padded hunch-back. It has neither a brain nor a heart.

Man is not a commodity. He is not a compound of mathematical quantities or chemical gases. He has a heart and a brain, and between these spring a thousand needs and emotions. He has the instinct of love. He is conquered by justice. Any scheme for the computation of man which leaves out justice will in this world be a failure.

But the toilers of the world are told that they should be content. They are assured that they do not grow poorer—that they receive more for their work than a century ago. The answer is no longer enough. The laborer has become intelligent. He is the child of the republic of free schools. He has read the Declaration. He has heard of the doctrine of Equal Rights. He has taught it to his children until it has become his own faith. He has caught the echo of the words of Mirabeau, "There are only three ways of acquiring property, by work, by begging, and by stealth." Civilization has increased his needs. He cannot live as did his forefathers, on the bare floors of a cabin. The glitter of his century would fill him with shame. Respectability would desert him. From his valley of poverty he points to those peaks of wealth and answers: "Those splendid heaps I helped to build; they are the product of my generation. I have worked for thirty years; my children are paupers, I have been robbed."

The laborer is right. He has a cause. He is logical. He is consistent with the teachings of the republic. If he is to be content with work and poverty, he should not have heard of the Declaration. He should have been protected from the New Testament. The only way to keep men satisfied with work and poverty is to keep them ignorant. Free schools and industrial pauperism side by side are a mistake. The history of labor from the earliest times shows that capital left to itself forces wages to a bare subsistence. A free government cannot afford to have its citizens dwarfs and paupers.

The workingman understands all this. He is fond of telling the story of the man with the mule and a patch of ground. The man said to the mule: "I will harness you to the plough and plough this land, on which I will raise beans. I will eat the beans; you shall have the stalks." The mule said to the man, "That will not be fair; I should have

some beans." "You are unreasonable," said the man, "your father was contented to eat thistles all his life." "That is true," said the mule, "but my father—he was an ass."

If there were any fair distribution of the products of human labor there would go out from all the homes of this land men and women to purchase abundance of the necessities of life. There would be none of the "alternating fevers and chills" of our present industrial order. There would be no "gluts of the market"—no "industrial depressions."

Three centuries before our era, the great Chinese sage, Mencius, taught that uncertainty as to the means of existence is the most important factor in the demoralization of a people. At the end of two centuries of unrestricted competition, three-fourths of the people of the most prosperous commonwealth of the world are insecure of the means of subsistence. We have approached the limit of the great speculative opportunities for wealth. Doubt paralyzes the limbs of industry. Dread poisons the sweetness of the world. Fear sits like a specter at our brief banquet of life. Gloom shadows the way of the toiling millions. What kind of a civilization is that whose heart is Fear?

Upon the results of this scheme of aggregated and aggregating wealth in the hands of individuals and corporations on the political morality of the nation, I need not speak. They are too familiar.

One-eighth of the total wealth of the United States belongs to the monopoly of transportation, the railroads. Its use in these hands for oppression and corruption is notorious. American statesmanship, like American sovereignty, has retired into the offices of the corporations. The United States Senate sits directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, for "vested rights."

We have heard of government by kings, by oligarchies, by aristocrats. We began a century ago as a government by the people. We have ended by giving

the world a new study in political science—government by corporations. When the Pennsylvania railroad has no more business to transact in the legislature of that State, it is said that that political body adjourns.

The late Mr. Tweed, of New York, had an acute appreciation of American politics. He manipulated a city and stole fifty millions of dollars. He recorded his vocation on the prison register as that of a *statesman*!

What is the conclusion? How will it end? The Duke of Weimar, looking upon the schemes of Napoleon in the height of his power, said, "This will not last; it is unjust."

I am not endeavoring to picture the details of an ideal commonwealth. There will come other days and there will be other gods. When civilized man is less a barbarian, the glitter of gold, the red wampum of the savage, will not intoxicate his senses. He will cease to be drunken with the lust of vulgar advantage over his fellow-men. The triumphs of the brain will measure his ambition. The triumphs of justice will ease his heart. The victories of art, the splendor of noble affections, will fill his dreams. That which is said here does not concern Utopian fancies. While there is human weakness there will be human suffering. But organized wrong is curable. It should be assailed. There are ideas which, intrenched for centuries, stop the march of our race. They are superstitions. Human society has the right to examine from time to time the foundations on which it rests. It has the obligation to repair or renew these foundations when they have become rotten.

The power of human government is co-extensive with the welfare of peoples. It is limited by that welfare. To that limit it must approach. The open secret of history is that justice and virtue lie deeper than institutions; that honesty is the preserver of nations. Beyond all laws, beyond all government, beyond all institutions, beyond all vested rights,

beyond all sneers, lie the indefeasible rights of man.

Before nothing less than the intrenched citadel of these rights in the organization of human states, will the march of humanity pause. They are demanded by the conscience of mankind. Their security is the goal of the race.

What are these rights? The oldest of the economists, the wisest of the Greeks, Aristotle, treating of the natural wealth of the world—"the source and raw material of all other wealth"—summed it up in a single descriptive phrase, "the bounty of nature."

Supported by the great teachers of our kind, I affirm, as incontrovertible propositions commanding themselves to the instinctive justice of man, that the world belongs to the living race; that the bounty of nature is the inheritance of all; that the wealth made by the common forces of any civilization is the common wealth. I affirm that the human hand is as sacred as the human brain. I affirm that the robbery of Cunning is as malignant as the robbery of Force. I affirm that every problem of the dealings between men is a moral problem. I affirm that no economic scheme for this world which ignores abstract rights is a science. I affirm that man's struggle should be with nature and not with his kind. I affirm that civilization without justice is a failure.

If for the realization of the rights here intimated, it is necessary to enter the gateway of the future by the partial or the absolute industrial coöperation of men, it is History that has led us to this door. There is no longer choice as to changing the route. The ruggedness of the present path has turned to an impossible steep. Struggling humanity, hungry and ragged in the presence of the riches it has created, has grown sick of its tyrants. The purpose of peoples is greater than the philosophy of the schools; and the peoples are saying, not "There should be," but, "There shall be a change!"

The toiling millions of the earth look

toward the Great Republic. It has given the world the spectacle of political government based upon the equality of manhood. There is awaited at its hands the spectacle of industry based on the brotherhood of Toil. Over the redoubts of the Past, over the bastions of Wrong,

over the dreams of the Old, bearing aloft the flag of the Declaration and the doctrines of the Nazarene, Americans will be the first to scale the heights and enter the citadel of the New Time.

WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG.
Los Angeles, Calif.

THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD.

BY WALTER J. BARTNETT.

THE FEDERATION of the world—a conception so grandiose as probably to seem chimerical to one who has not observed the signs of the times, seems nevertheless to be slowly but surely taking form and substance.

Far in the past, on the minds of the world-conquerors, shone the ideal of a world united. In the present, on many a mind is shining this great ideal; but now has the dreamt-of tyranny of the past been glorified into the idea of a union of the nations in a voluntary federation.

Like the growth of a tree from a seed, the growth of the modern ideal has been of an inevitable and fateful character; and in its present stage a discerning eye can perceive the outlines of the grand consummation.

Immediately preceding the more definite conception of a world-federation are to be seen a number of nourishing factors—each adding its quota, its energy; as, for example, the application of steam to navigation and to land transportation, the extension of telegraph and telephone, the industrial inventions which have rendered each country dependent on others for vast quantities of supplies, the practice of international loaning of money, the growth of international brotherhoods, the readier and cheaper production of books, the growth of the press, the increase of general education, together with the potent humanizing activities of

the great republic of letters, and the consequent partial eradication of national prejudices; each of these bringing material benefit and inculcating ideas of interdependence and mutual help on a national scale.

Let us consider now that which corresponds to the sapling—the young form which, out of the darkness and groping of the life in the soil, has risen to view and, though but partly developed, foreshadows the coming tree.

It is commonly accepted that the welfare and prosperity of mankind depend more upon agriculture than upon any other industry. Statistics from all lands on the production and consumption of agricultural products, intelligently disseminated, must affect the destinies of millions of people. Official and reliable data concerning the results obtained by such men as Luther Burbank, and miscellaneous information such as that gathered by organizations like the United States Department of Agriculture, if spread throughout the world freely for the benefit of all who are interested, cannot but profoundly influence for the better the agriculture of the world and consequently improve the condition of the people. If the advance made by the American farmers in wheat-growing during the past ten years could be intelligently presented to the peasants of Russia, much of the agrarian trouble of that country would be remedied. If the

information that the California fruit growers possess could be transmitted to the agriculturists in Siberia, fruit-growing would in a decade be one of the great industries of a large portion of that territory. On the other hand, could the agriculturalists of America receive accurate information freely and readily concerning the products of field and orchard and vineyard of the remainder of the world, their advance in these matters must proceed apace. The food-supply of hundreds of millions of people is now being brought from far distant points; to cheapen the marketing and insure the purity of this food must necessarily enhance the well-being of those who depend upon it. Reliable information as to crops and as to agricultural products in storage and in transit the world over, will tend to promote a better adjustment of supply to demand, promptly and sometimes with incalculable benefit to millions of people, as in cases of threatened famine.

The United States of America spends millions per annum in securing information of this character pertaining to its own territory, but the benefits derived are but partial, owing to the lack of accurate statistics concerning other countries.

The inference from all this is: that the welfare of the world is to a considerable degree suffering from a want of coöperation of the nations in this very vital department of human activity; and that it would be to the advantage of all were the governments of the world to come to an agreement on this subject—an agreement best embodied in a permanent form, perhaps, by the establishment of an international board of competent delegates from each nation, whose duty it should be to promote the advancement of all forms of agriculture throughout the world irrespective of nationality or of personal interests.

To one man belongs the honor of perceiving this clearly and of bringing it about—Mr. David Lubin of California.

Through his efforts was the King of Italy converted to his views. Thereupon under the leadership of the King was inaugurated a movement of such strength that finally over forty nations assented to the plan of coöperation proposed. Thus has been born the International Institute of Agriculture, to be supported by funds from the treasuries of nearly all nations—the first voluntary world-movement of all-embracing import.

So interrelated are human affairs that, having been firmly established and begun its work, this institute will gradually enlarge its scope and more and more firmly cement the common interests of mankind throughout the world. And so potent is suggestion and so fecund are fundamental ideas, that from this new organization and that older one, the International Postal Union, which has accomplished so much for the inter-communication of the peoples of the world, will spring others of their sort.

The movements which are embodied in the Interparliamentary Union and the American Society of International Law are directed toward the codification of international law and the firm establishment of principles that will be recognized by the courts of every land. During the Russo-Japanese trouble the peoples of many lands were concerned with the question as to what articles were contraband. The principles of international law as interpreted by various writers were not uniform, the result being that merchants were at a loss as to what course of action to follow. This is an example of many that might be presented wherein great benefits will flow from the coming together of all nations in an institution that will reduce these matters to order and uniformity; the principles finally settled upon, to become active by being incorporated in the various international treaties.

In connection with the establishment of the International Institute of Agriculture and the formulation of definite laws operative between the nations in

peace and in war, there may well be considered the establishment of a permanent body of delegates to regulate matters of international commerce, thus providing for greater commercial freedom, minimizing the risks of commerce, and affording greater legal protection and personal security to the people that engage in commerce. Through the power of the Federal Government to regulate interstate commerce, the United States of America has been able to correct some of the greater abuses that flow from the selfishness of man; for instance, that of the sale of impure foods, and that of the lack of sanitation of packing establishments. Such matters could be regulated on a world-wide scale by an International Commerce Commission.

In relation to the foregoing, and matters for consideration by such a commission, are the following:

1. The adoption of a uniform standard of exchange throughout the world. We all know the great benefits that have resulted from the adoption by many nations of the gold standard. Yet the adoption of this standard is but a part of the great work that must be done to render stable the commerce of the nations. When all have adopted the gold standard—as they doubtless will—a second step will be required, namely—

2. The adoption of a common system of exchange, or money which will be good the world over. There is no reason why a system of exchange cannot be devised that will be a common measure of value in all civilized lands.

3. The establishment of a common standard of weights and measures. The good this will accomplish is obvious. The use of the metric system is gradually being extended; in another decade it will probably have become practically universal.

4. The introduction of a universal language. Such a language, of scientific construction and capable of easy expansion concurrent with growing needs of nomenclature due to new inventions

and scientific discoveries,—a language which shall, along with the mother-tongue, be taught in the schools of all nations,—would be an important factor in the promotion of international understanding and popular benefit.

Through all these things will the peoples of the earth be brought into closer and closer commercial relations. Commerce will be greatly increased. In many ways will the material welfare of all be advanced. Through the masses of the populations will be diffused a greater and greater knowledge; and the consequent better understanding of one another will result in a further gain—a gain inexpressible in terms of commerce.

The question may now be asked: What is to be the effect of these movements upon the destiny of nations?

Let us try to answer this.

First: The true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes. This function applies most particularly to the care of the proletariat. To advance the masses morally and intellectually it is essential to advance them first in a material way: it is requisite to supply them with work and increase their productive capacity—their power of acquiring for themselves from soil and mine and factory and trade a greater income and thus a better environment and more leisure. For example, the people of Russia must be taught how to utilize the energy of their vast water-power, as the people of the state of New York use that of Niagara and the Californians that of the streams of the Sierra Nevada. The workers of the world who are following primitive methods must be shown how to more fully develop the energies of soil and mine and stream through modern methods. Thus will be aroused in them renewed and more intelligent industry, with greater scope for the employment of their minds: this, seemingly slow though it may be, will inevitably result in intellectual, moral, spiritual, and political progress. This awakening of the higher nature in

the masses will gradually be brought about by the interworking of many factors, notably through free and compulsory education, but chiefly perhaps through the wide diffusion by the individual governments of knowledge appealing to the immediate self-interest of men, enabling them to earn more with a given amount of labor,—knowledge derived from the general information and the statistics published by such international institutes as we have spoken of.

Secondly: The greater enlightenment of the people of all lands means ultimately the greater stability of government. As the people become more enlightened, they will have an ever-growing voice in government. As this proceeds, they will demand—and some are beginning to demand it now—freedom from the burden of taxation for the purpose of maintaining the immense standing armies and the great navies. In Italy the income tax alone is 14 per cent. of incomes, and the total tax in some sections of that country amounts to 30 per cent. of the gross earnings of the people. Already in Italy there is a movement of great proportions opposing the voting of further sums for army and navy. The masses of Hungary are thinking the same way, as also are a large party in France and a considerable party in Germany. And the prosperity of Canada and Australia has tended to arouse the minds of the masses of England in respect to taxation for this purpose.

In this connection the Russian nation is a particularly interesting subject. The peasants of Russia are thinking potently. The Douma, temporarily disconcerted, will probably become within a decade a power little dreamed of to-day by many of the statesmen of Europe. Russia is the one country in Europe that can be called the United States of Europe. The most despotic of governments, she nevertheless is thinking to-day the thoughts of America and studying American institutions, and in

the next twenty years will have enforced many of the distinctively American ideas. Like the United States, she is composed of many races. The Russian territories contain a population of 140,000,000 people, divided into 111 races. During the past thirty years the government has been preparing for the formation of the most democratic state in all Europe: unconsciously it has been laying the foundations of a great constitutional monarchy with power vested in the people. This has been partly accomplished through the intercommunication between remote portions of the Empire provided by the construction of one of the greatest railroad systems in the world. The government now owns about 30,000 miles of railroads, valued at more than \$1,500,000,000. When the history of the past century is written, the construction of the great Siberian Railroad must be recorded as one of the most potent civilizing factors of the century. Along the line of that railroad millions of peasants will settle in the next twenty years. Emigration from European Russia into the Siberian territory will be rapid. Russia now has her outlet on the Pacific. She contemplates building a new railroad, to run from Lake Baikal through Chinese territory to Pekin and the port of Tientsin. This road will open to the people of Siberia, for their agricultural products and their timber, the great markets of China; and the construction of the Panama Canal will give to this vast country a world-market. When it is remembered that Siberia is as large as the United States of America, that it is situated mostly in the temperate zone, and that it is fertile, one can readily understand that here the Russian peasant will rapidly advance materially and commercially, and that the form of government he will ultimately have, will be a liberal one modeled in all probability after that of the United States.

It is the destiny of the United States to extend a friendly hand to the civilization that will develop in the Russian

territory bordering on the shores of the Pacific. With the friendly aid of the United States, the great markets that will open up for the products of field and forest and mine and factory of all Russia, the gradual enlightenment of the farmers and operatives of all classes in the way of improved methods learned through the agency of the international institutes, the whole population of the Empire will come in time to have the same incentives to general progress that the people of the United States have; they will see their opportunities in the lands they already possess, will endeavor to develop them to the utmost, and, like the peoples of other countries, will mightily oppose through their representatives in the Douma the maintenance of a great standing army.

As a general proposition we may say that the principle of the government of the people, by the people for the people, is becoming universal, and that when the peoples of the European countries finally express themselves fully, it will be first and foremost in the way of refusing to pay taxes for the maintenance of great armies and navies. This will probably occur within the next twenty or thirty years; it will be a bloodless revolution; and its effects will be most beneficial and far-reaching, as the following considerations will indicate:

The expenditures by the nations of Europe for military and naval purposes aggregate probably more than \$1,500,000,000 per year. In the standing armies and the navies of those nations there are now about 4,000,000 men. This vast number of men constitutes just so much energy directed to other than productive ends. What it costs to maintain these men represents, on the one hand, money derived from governmental revenues other than taxes, which money might be used by the government for the public benefit; and on the other hand, money derived from taxes, which money, retained by the tax-payers, would better their condition.

Were European states to disarm as against one another and retain armies and navies for policing only, there would probably be released say three-quarters of these 4,000,000 men, or 3,000,000 men in good physical condition, among them a considerable number of very intelligent minds. Assuming that one-tenth of these would emigrate to the New World, we have left 2,700,000 to engage in productive work in European countries. Of these about 135,000 would be officers, men of trained minds. Assuming that these 2,700,000 men would earn on an average \$400 per year apiece, this would mean an increase of over \$1,000,000,000 per year in wages alone. It is likely, too, that the great majority of these men would work for others and receive wages considerably lower than the value they produce.

And further: We should have that part of the governmental revenues other than taxes, and that part of the incomes of civilians expended by them as taxes, at present devoted to the maintenance of these men and the equipment, fortifications, men-of-war, etc., corresponding to them—redistributed and turned into more beneficial channels. The money thus set free to be applied to public improvements, and that now expended by civilians as taxes, but in the event of disarmament restored to them, would amount in round numbers to, say, \$1,000,000,000.

We should therefore have to the credit of European nations, as the result of disarmament, a yearly increment of wealth which we may conservatively estimate at \$1,000,000,000, and a yearly addition to public improvements and personal comfort and well-being represented by the amount of \$1,000,000,000, —a total betterment of \$2,000,000,000!

While the foregoing figures cannot in any case be considered exact, they nevertheless are so nearly so as to indicate the magnitude of the benefit that would result from disarmament.

In addition to the above, the following

words from Mr. Vivian of the British House of Commons are to the point: "War expenditure lessens the national and commercial credit, intensifies the unemployed problem, reduces the resources available for social reform, and presses with exceptional severity upon the industrial classes."

And the following from an editorial in *The Japan Weekly Chronicle* (Kobe):

"War [and the writer might have added—a constant readiness for war] creates an incubus of debt which lies as a permanent dead weight upon a country's life and enterprise—which militates against those works of public utility absolutely necessary for the national progress, and necessarily imposes a burden of taxation which is felt by every class."

The following is also pertinent: In 1905 England spent on her army and navy an amount exceeding \$300,000,000, whereas in the same year she appropriated to Education, Science and Art only \$79,000,000. These figures need no comment.

As reason, or the great common-sense of mankind, is bound to triumph in the end, we may predict with almost absolute confidence that—now that the movement has been started—the benefits that so obviously will accrue from the cessation of international wars, will eventually and perhaps in but a few years appeal with so compelling a force to the peoples of Europe that the governments will finally heed their voice and gradually disarm. In this it is likely that the weaker nations will lead. Italy—ever one of the first nations to advance new movements—will vote to disarm, retaining but a moderate standing army and a small navy. France will follow. The people of England will presently refuse to appropriate money for extensions of the military or the navy; this the precursor of disarmament, which will follow in time. And the people of

Germany, it is likely, will in the course of a few years bring about reforms in the interests of reason and general well-being.

The nations having partly disarmed, due to the enlightenment of the people and their greater voice in the government, the appeal to arms in cases of international friction will indubitably become less potent than the appeal to peace through arbitration—with the consequent maintenance of commercial and governmental stability.

Therefore—repeating our propositions: first, that the true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes; and secondly, that the greater enlightenment of the people of all lands means ultimately the greater stability of government; and setting beside these propositions the fact that the principle of the government of the people, by the people, for the people is becoming universal, and the fact that the nations are beginning to realize the self-interest that lies in coöperation—we have a warrant unimpeachable for the faith that is in us; namely, that in the course of but a few years we shall see the shaping of a true world-movement (for Japan and China, the United States of America, and the rest of the civilized world will join with the nations of Europe) toward the effectuation of an international understanding embodied in a permanent institution of universal scope.

We have now considered those things that correspond to the hidden, unconscious forces which precede the appearance of the tree above ground, and we have considered the things which correspond to the early growth and gradual shaping of the tree: let us now consider that which corresponds to the tree itself, developed.

In this permanent institution in which all nations will join, the full characteristics of the world-federation will begin to show forth—hesitatingly at first, for it will be subjected to storms of criticism, blights of self-interest, heats of prejudice;

but, even so, it will grow the hardier, and more deeply will it send its roots down into the heart of humanity and to greater purpose will it raise aloft its noble presence in the pure air of altruism, of universal benefit and good-will.

This permanent institution, this parliament of widest scope, which is to embody the international understanding, will from its very nature eventually include within its purview the more specialized international institutes. The details of its development we can hardly foretell with definiteness, but we may say with some confidence that the earliest action taken by the great nations of the world will probably be the signing of a protocol whereby they will cede to the jurisdiction of the parliament a certain armament, a certain number of ships and sailors and soldiers, for the purpose of executing the decrees of the tribunal; thus enabling all the nations with safety to disarm as against one another, retaining only such armies and navies as they may need for policing purposes. The protocol will develop into a constitution providing for executive, judicial and legislative departments, and embodying articles which in time all nations will ratify. And upon this must follow the arbitration of international disputes, the cessation of international war.

Strange is it to contemplate—and we may perhaps see in it the working of the Reason which rules the world—that to the head of the most despotic of the great nations and to a representative of the most democratic belongs the credit of first practically urging the idea of the promotion of a peace universal: to the Czar Nicholas and to Andrew Carnegie is the world indebted for the preliminary shaping of this grand conception.

Mr. Carnegie has given much thought to this subject. Several years ago he pointed out the great benefits that must result from the organization of the nations into "The United States of the World." His interest in the American Society of

International Law and in the peace conferences, and his construction at The Hague of the Temple of Peace, where will be housed the International Board of Arbitration and also, we hope, the International Institute of Agriculture and all other international institutes, for we believe that if the Temple of Peace be selected as the home for all the world-movements the sooner will be effected the union of all in a true International Parliament,—all this on the part of Mr. Carnegie will contribute much to the success of this great movement which has for its object the preservation of peace and the increased well-being of the peoples of all lands.

With the federation of the nations under a constitution ratified by all; with the devotion of human energies in this way to the material, intellectual, and moral welfare of humanity; with the growth of tolerance through knowledge; with the perception which is bound to arise, of the interrelation of all mankind and of the fact that the happiness and prosperity of other peoples contribute to our own prosperity and happiness;—with all this we have the fullness of growth which corresponds to the developed and firmly planted tree,—a tree indeed, whose trunk is humanity itself, whose greater limbs are the greater nations and whose smaller limbs are the smaller nations, whose roots are the roots of humanity in the Source of All, whose sap is the Spirit of Life.

Inevitable, fateful, not to be stayed in its growth—obviously a part of the Divine Plan—proceeds this great idea. Let the mothers and the teachers of all lands aid in its progress. To spread this gospel is a work of sublime importance. Men and women are needed for this, and men and women are needed in whom to embody the delegated powers of the nations. In every nation there is at least one person eminently fitted to serve as its representative. Let each

nation search him out, and having found him, appoint him its Permanent Delegate to the International Board of Arbitration; and let it empower him unstintedly to act with his confreres from the other great nations in formulating a plan for international arbitration and federation—a plan elastic enough to grow with growing needs, yet firm enough to withstand the strains of opposing interests.

How better conclude than with the vision of a poet whose insights the world is hastening to verify and confirm to the full? Looking from the past to the future, he noted the progress of humanity from the reign of physical force and compulsion—the day of the brute in man—and saw it culminate in the regnancy of

moral suasion and justice—the day of true manhood, when:

" . . . the war-drum throb'd no longer, and the battle-flags were furl'd
In the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world."

And going farther—searching to the heart of things with the eye of insight—he prophesies the next step, the elimination of internal, that is, industrial or insurrectionary, strife under the sway of Reason,—the outcome of it all, when:

" . . . the common sense of most shall hold a fretful realm in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

WALTER J. BARTNETT.
San Francisco, Calif.

THROUGH THE NEEDLE'S EYE: A PARABLE.

BY REV. ELIOT WHITE.

THERE was a man in the land of the United States whose name was David Ives, who was perfect and upright according to the standards of the Chicago boulevard where he lived. He had seven sons and three daughters. His substance also was seven millions in bonds,—railroad, mining and municipal,—of conservative character, and three millions in Great Lakes Trust Company stock; five hundred thousand in Amalgamated Copper, and five hundred thousand in Steel Common; and also a very great household; so that this man was one of the great ones of the West.

And his sons went and feasted in their several mansions, every one his day; and sent their touring-cars and called for their three sisters, to eat and drink with them.

And it was so, when the days of their feasting were gone about, at the beginning of Lent, that their father rose up early in the morning, and without hy-

pocrisy or parade of his religious practices, went to week-day service in the chapel of his parish church, and there offered prayers according to the number of his children; for he said, "It may be that my sons have sinned, and renounced God in their hearts." Thus did D. Ives continually.

Now there was a day when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, and Satan came also among them. And the Lord said unto Satan "Whence comest thou?" Then Satan answered and said. "From going to and fro in America, and rom walking up and down therein." And the Lord said unto Satan, "Hast thou considered my servant David Ives, that there is none like him, a perfect and an upright man?" Then Satan answered, "Doth David Ives fear God for naught? Hast thou not mightily prospered his investments; and built a hedge about all that he hath? But put forth thine hand now, and touch

his possessions, and he will renounce thee to thy face." And the Lord said unto Satan, "Behold, all that he hath is in thy power; only upon himself put not forth thine hand." So Satan went forth from the presence of the Lord.

And there was a day when David Ives' sons and daughters were departed for an excursion in their touring-cars. And a certain banker came to him and said, "Burglars more expert and bold than any hitherto on record are found to have tunneled under our safe-deposit vaults and rifled a number of our supposedly strongest boxes; yours are among these and they have been emptied of all your bonds. And I only of all the directors had the courage to come and tell you."

While he was yet speaking, there came also another, the vice-president of the Great Lakes Trust Company, and said, "It is discovered that our president has been for a long time taking the company's funds and loaning them to a promoter of worthless enterprises, while he deceived the directors with a false list of reliable loans which he never made. As a heavy owner of stock in the Trust Company you will, I regret to say, be assessed probably three-quarters of your holdings, to recoup the depositors' losses."

While this messenger was yet speaking, another had rung the door-bell, who proved to be the broker whom David Ives oftenest consulted concerning investments. He whispered, "There has been such a break in Amalgamated Copper that the market is in panic, and our stock is worth a third less than yesterday, and Steel Common has also suffered severely in sympathy. I regret to add that on account of the assessment for the ruined Trust Company, you will have to sell all your outside stocks at these panic prices, besides disposing of your house, land and personal property, to make up the deficit which will still stand against you. I have learned of your unfortunate loss by the safe-deposit robbery, and I deplore the fatal coinci-

dence whereby all your disasters have fallen upon the same day."

This messenger had only just departed when the telephone rang, and this announcement was delivered to the broken man, "Your sons and daughters were racing in their cars, and crossed, almost together, the tracks of the Northern Pacific; they were so excited by their contest that they failed to see or hear an approaching express; their cars were both struck by the locomotive, and all were instantly killed."

Then D. Ives sent orders to sell his stocks and his real estate, and with a hundred dollars remaining to his wife's account in a savings bank, he went to one of the poorest streets of the city and hired two rooms in a tenement. But in all this he sinned not, nor charged God foolishly.

Again there was a day when the sons of God presented themselves before the Lord. And He said unto Satan, "Hast thou considered my servant that still holdeth fast his integrity, altho thou movedst me against him?" And Satan said, "Skin for skin, yea all that a man hath will he give for his life. But put forth thy hand now and touch his flesh, and he will renounce thee." And the Lord said, "Behold he is in thine hand; only save his life." So Satan went forth and smote D. Ives with sore boils, and he went and sat all day long behind the little kitchen stove.

Then his wife bade him consider how utterly he had been brought low, and renounce God and die; but he answered, "What, shall we receive good at the hand of God, and shall we not receive evil?" In all this did he not sin with his lips.

Now when D. Ives' three chief friends heard of all this evil that was come upon him, they came every one from his undisturbed home to the little tenement,—the Reverend Eliphalet Evans, the pastor of the church which D. Ives had so liberally supported, Wilfred Carmody, the banker, and Norman Armstrong,

professor of Political Economy in the University,—for they had made an appointment together to come and condole with him. And when they saw the wretched street where their friend now lived, and climbed the dark stairs to his lodging, and saw his bodily affliction, they scarcely recognized him, and for an hour sat silent with him in the tiny kitchen.

After this David Ives spoke, and said to his friends, "I thank you for not forgetting me in my adversity, and for the trouble you have taken to seek me out in my broken fortune, in this poor attic, but it is more than you ought to think of ever doing again. I have been removed, by a decree I cannot understand, entirely out of your world and all that belongs to it, into one utterly alien. For you to try to bridge over the chasm now inscrutably fixed between us is most charitable and loyal, but I not only do not require such a sacrifice on the part of any of you, in the name of past friendship, but I absolutely insist that after you have left me to-night you will not seek me out again, nor burden your memories with the name of your former parishioner, investor and educational patron. From me now there has been swept all power to aid in the good works and financial enterprise and intellectual aspiration which you, my three friends of other days, so capably represent. And yet human nature pleads in spite of itself for a little balm of sympathy, and I cannot quite yet say 'Good-bye.' I must not abuse your patience, but it will be a solace to tell you how my overwhelming adversities have affected me; and if you can out of your store of wisdom throw any light on such affliction, how gladly will I listen, to profit thereby!"

"As for me, my soul now echoes only with the one piercing cry, 'Why was I born at all?' How much better not to have seen the light, than after enjoying it to behold it blotted out by such utter gloom as this! Had I but died I should now be asleep, untroubled even by

dreams which this reality terribly surpasses. Whatever I now believe or disbelieve, I am sure that there is nothingness, for out of it I came; and now to go into it again is my most eager wish. How then can I but ask of the God who at least permitted my affliction, why He continues the awful gift of consciousness and memory, and the whole keen-edged gamut of emotions to one whose way is hedged by calamity, and in the twinkling of an eye bounded on every side by the wilderness of grief and pain?"

"Is it any wonder that I sigh and groan,—that I look with agony of desire for the approach of merciful death, and that more than men of the world covet riches, I covet the long oblivion?"

Then the Reverend Eliphilet Evans answered and said, "I think you will realize that I am moved to speak from no formal or professional desire to dispense consolation, but because I cannot help replying. You always had an exceptional skill in instructing others, and a marked ability to encourage those who faced odds and troubles. I cannot refrain then from expressing surprise that when similar disappointments and spiritual difficulties assail you, they so completely sweep you from your moorings into what I cannot help saying though dreading to hurt you at such a time, seems to me complete pessimism."

"I regret the slight note of self-confidence in the way you speak of your losses; it is impossible that any of us should be pure before our Maker,—we who dwell in houses of clay, and whose foundations are laid in the dust. Rich and poor differ in much, but they are alike in this that they have no assurance of uninterrupted continuance in one condition. My pastoral experience gives me full authority to assure you that there is a precisely equal chance of the poor man becoming wealthy to-morrow, and of one blest in this world's goods as you were yesterday being as suddenly bereft of his possessions, by some decree inexplicable to our petty understandings.

"Certainly, my dear friend, affliction does not spring out of the ground, nor come by chance, but man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward. The man is really to be envied whom God correcteth; He woundeth and His hands make whole. You may yet come to your grave in a full age like a shock of corn in its season. And I trust it may be of some consolation to you in your present adversity to remember that you share therein a heritage common to all the generations of men."

But David Ives answered, "O that my grief could be reckoned by weight, that other eyes might see its immensity! O that God would let loose His hand and utterly cut me off, instead of striking me part way toward death, only to leave me there, quivering with anguish!"

"My strength is not the strength of granite, nor my flesh of the fibre of steel. To him that is afflicted pity should be shown by his friends, but forgive me for saying in my misery that your arguing proves nothing to me now. I look for death as a hireling for his wages; my skin closes up and then breaks open afresh. I loathe myself, and my days are utter vanity. It is such a man as this you are speaking to now, my friends, and the old arguments and consolations are but as the wind in the naked trees of winter."

Then answered Wilfred Carmody, the banker, and said, "I am not skilled in religious condolences, but I have studied a little the meaning of that life that to you and me has come under the form of business and finance. And perhaps for the very reason that your past and mine ran in similar channels, I may be able to throw a little light on this day's strange reversals.

"I fear there were faults that the world could not see, which had to be purged from your character, and so the Supreme Being chose this way which you are now so painfully walking, to accomplish His cleansing process. The conscientious and incorruptible transaction

of duties of high trust in the modern business world is, I believe, as truly a service of the Deity as the offering of oblations upon church altars, or the fortifying of human souls with spiritual hope at the brink of dissolution. Such a priesthood of the secular, if I may so designate it, was conferred upon you, and we, your friends, are sure it was honorably and even illustriously fulfilled. And yet we see not with that trenchant glance of God, that doubtless detects flaws invisible to our eyes, in the jewels of our best service. You are then not being chastened more than any of us here deserve, if we would have our lives and works found worthy to shine at the last in the diadem of eternity.

"Therefore, my brother, take heart of grace from the very completeness of your affliction, perceiving therein a divine acceptance of more than is deemed worth refining in other men. Certainly God will not cast away a perfect man, and will permit your present distress only until He can be sure of your victory over all inner unworthiness. Then He will fill your mouth with laughter and put to shame those who now secretly rejoice at your reverses."

Then David Ives answered, "Indeed I know that never a man hardened himself against God and really prospered. Earthquake and tidal wave, hurricane, fire and contagious disease, are as truly His angels with the golden bowls full of His wrath to-day, as those the Seer beheld coming forth from the Temple of the Apocalypse. It is He that spreads out the heavens and walks on the billows of the mid-Atlantic storm. He formed the flaming crystal of Capella and Vega, the throbbing ruby of Antares, and the silver-frosted Pleiades, and He armed Orion with his twirling panoply. I have felt Him go by me on the path of the Galaxy, in the splendor of the summer midnight, and have been tremblingly aware of His approach to my heart in the hour of prayer, but I perceive Him not.

"If He taketh away, who can hinder

Him? Who will say to Him, 'What doest thou?' If I justify myself, my own mouth is condemning me while it forms the words. But ah, what theodicy will clear away this mystery of all the ages,—that God seems to allow the righteous to be smitten with calamity, or destroyed outright, as readily as the evil and disobedient? Government and power throughout history have been for the most part in the hands of the wicked, while prophets and righteous judges have been persecuted, rejected and put to death.

"I am not asking my questions and laying bare my perplexities for myself alone, but for all who have suffered or are even now enduring underserved and preventable distress. My life must be short, but others will suffer after me, and I cry for justice and a little comfort for those who have none, before I go whence I shall not return."

Then Norman Armstrong spoke and said, "You have found by personal experience what remains a matter of theory to the rest of us. My study of economics, I do not hesitate to acknowledge, seems utterly profitless in face of your misfortunes. But at least I am sure of this, and cannot help reminding you, that the will behind all natural and economic laws is greater than can possibly be expressed by them. The measure of those purposes which all the phenomena we have registered reveals, is no longer than the earth and broader than the sea. Man cannot by searching find out God, and human destiny, intellectually, is to live in suspense, always if possible fortified against a burst of fresh truth that may overset and forcibly remodel all former knowledge.

"At the same time I believe there is moral certainty, so that the attainment of virtue by a good life is not in the same danger of being superseded by later moral discoveries. Holy once is always holy. Moses' righteousness is not outlawed by that of any modern saint, though his knowledge of Nature's processes

beside Charles Darwin's is as a candle-flame matched with an arc-light.

"So we can be sure that it always was and for ever will be true that iniquity means moral decay, and that sin inwardly cherished sooner or later terribly publishes itself outwardly even upon the body and the features of the face. And if you, without our knowledge, perhaps even without your own full realization, have transgressed the ever-vigilant laws of the moral nature, then you must suffer the penalty. I dare not say the calamities you have just endured are sent you as proportionate punishment, but there may be some occult connection we cannot trace, and I earnestly ask you to search the secret places of your past, and unreservedly confess the worst to God. If you do this I am even surer than the scientist can be of his chain of natural causation, that you will then lift up your face without spot, and your life shall be clearer than the noonday. You will forget your misery, or remember it only as the troubled waters that have passed by in a great river's current."

Then David Ives answered, "No doubt you are the wise men of your time, and have plucked for me the best fruits of your wisdom, but I have traveled your ways and am now terribly pioneering in realms of experience you never even discerned on your horizon. It is not ingratitude then, but the conviction of an immeasurably tortured spirit that forces me to complain that I find your arguments but proverbs of ashes and defences of clay. My highest reach of faith now is to repeat again and again to myself this desperate ascription, that is more like an inarticulate groan than a creed, 'Though He slay me, yet will I trust in Him.' Have pity upon me, have pity upon me, O ye my friends, for the hand of God hath touched me!"

Moreover David Ives continued his parable, and said, "Surely there are veins of silver and sands bearing dust of gold. Iron is mined from the earth and copper smelted from the ore. The coal-

miner breaks open his shafts beneath the dwellings of men, and in darkness harvests the black grain to feed the fiery mills of the world's furnaces. But where shall wisdom be found? And where is the place of understanding? Man knows not the price of it. The firmament says, 'It is not in my depths,' and the ocean declares, 'It is not with me.' It cannot be bought with a fortune of gold, nor valued with onyx or sapphires. Diamonds and pearls are but pebbles in comparison, and the ruby and topaz but tinted glass.

"Whence then comes wisdom, seeing it is hid from living eyes? When God weighed the water and taught the lightning the skill of its stroke, then He established and declared it, and unto man He said, 'To fear me is wisdom, and to depart from evil is understanding.'

"And these are my last words: If I made gold my hope, rejoicing because my wealth was great and my ability brought me abundance; if I was pleased at another's failure though he were my adversary; if the men of my club and the members of my church said not, 'Who can find one to whom he has not been kind?'—then let fire consume even this attic, my last poor foothold in the world of the living, and let it not spare me also its broken tenant! The words of David Ives are ended."

So these three friends ceased to answer him. But a certain Edwin Ramzell entered the room,—a young man who lived on the floor below David Ives' tenement, who had heard from what rich estate the new-comer had descended. He came up with neighborly impulse to render any help he could and hearing the voices in the kitchen he waited in the other room till they had finished. Then because he could no longer keep silence, he laid aside his fear of being rebuffed and said to David Ives' friends, "I am young, and you are old, so that I was afraid to come in and express any opinion of mine. I said, 'These men ought to know, they have had so much experience.' At the same time I know

great men are not always wise, nor the aged infallible. Will you allow me to say what has been gathering in my mind while I listened to your debate? And pardon me if I add that I cannot see that any one of you has really answered this man's difficulties, or given him genuine help in these sore straits. I am far from intending rudeness, but I never could bring myself to show much respect of persons or use flattering speeches."

Turning to David Ives, who sat as if hearing nothing, with his head sunk on his breast, Ramzell said, "It seems to me that you have drawn no line whatever between the portion of your calamities which was caused by human fault and was therefore avoidable, and that which befell you by no one's dereliction. This latter portion alone can be justly termed a 'visitation,' but you have all four begged the question to begin with, by summing up all the blows of this misfortune in that one category. No wonder your conclusions are irrelevant and pitifully inadequate.

"The robbery of your bonds, the failure of the Trust Company, the collapse of your stocks on the market,—these are all results of one cause, greed, with its attendant train of perjury and violence. Therefore in all these things, human agency, and not divine, allotted you disaster. Indeed, even the death of your children was the result of the fever of rivalry showing itself in the furious sport of such racing as they were engaged in when struck by the locomotive. Can anything then of which you complain at this time be called unavoidable calamity except your physical affliction? To me, it seems not.

"Though I feel as full of counsel, such as is mine to offer, as a bottle is of new wine, and it seems as though it would burst me, I will stop if you sign me to. Otherwise I will go on and find my relief in speaking, and hope my personal equation and point-of-view will not give offence.

"Your whole thought, my brother,

was that the social system in which you were bred would last forever. Even now these friends of yours hold the same opinion, whether their outlook is from pulpit, banking-house or professor's chair. But I believe you yourself, because of your tremendous reverses, are receptive to proofs of the coming radical change in the economic world.

"What has your goal of earthly life been but profit? Whether you needed or could use your gains mattered not; whether less skilful or less fortunately placed men went to the wall to yield you increase, affected you little, because your nerves of sympathy had by 'business,' so-called, been strangely rendered numb. But now you are ready to look at the social organism with new eyes, and have been prepared by suffering to sense the sufferings of others, everywhere and in all ranks of your brother-men. You have but to look from this window of your attic to see the sordid grist that the mills of the profit-system ceaselessly grind. You were told and you believed that these wretchedly housed, ill-fed strugglers, whose toil exhausts heart and hope by its severity and duration, were the victims of their own sloth or evil habits or incorrigible stupidity. But to-day you know it is not so. You have yourself tasted the bitterness of poverty and social humiliation. Was the cause of this collapse *your* sloth, evil habits or incorrigible stupidity? By no means; it was the selfishness and sin of the economic relations of this time, which suddenly leaped forth and thunderbolted you. The tree that stands nearest the lightning's path is shattered not because it is of a certain fibre, or decayed at the core, but because it was in that spot. So you have been made a victim of the fierce levin of the gathering social tempest, for no special cause in your character, nor to punish you of faults greater than your fellows committed. It might have been any one of them, but because you were in the path of the advancing retribution that sooner or

later is to sweep away all social injustice, therefore you show forth for all who will look, the portentous thoroughness of the coming economic day of judgment.

"Why are mills and factories shut down when the human beings you can see from this window are in need of the very things those workshops produce when in operation? Why do economists declare that over-production gluts the market, although in every great city men, women and children are continually reported as dying of starvation, or committing suicide for want of common necessities? You yourself know that their lack of nourishment, and foul living-places, and inadequate apparel render even those who survive among the 'submerged' unfit for life-sustaining industry.

"All this is chiefly,—I do not say entirely, for the poor have faults as well as rich—because profit-taking by the few is more and more mulcting the many poor of their ability to buy in those alleged 'over-stocked' markets. When the miner, the molder, the railroad hand, and the employés in the factories of this land's thousand industries, receive only a fifth or an eighth of the value they produce, while most of the remainder goes as profit to increase the plethoric fortunes of the owners of natural opportunities and the tools of production, what else can the result be? The laborer simply has not left to him, after the disproportionate taxes which Privilege is now allowed to levy, the means to buy the products which he and his fellows have created by their toil. He needs badly enough what Privilege has to sell, but he has been deprived by that very profit-taking itself of power to purchase. Of course then 'over-production' and bitter need coexist under such a system. There is too much to sell because so few can buy; and there is pitiful want because the profit-taxed workers have no access to the supplies piled up in the so-called glutted markets.

"If this continues in America for only

twenty years longer at the present rate of development, there are those observers who believe that the unthinkable accumulations of wealth in the hands of the few, side by side with the deprivations of the millions, will generate, like meeting charges of negative and positive electricity, such a force of economic lightning and tempest, that the strokes which have lately fallen upon yourself, David Ives, unwitting representative of a false and selfish social organization, will seem but the tiny sparks of a friction match.

"But we must believe that the wisdom of this people will never permit such a cataclysm. Before that they will have decreed by ballot a change, root and branch. A revolution, we hope without bullet or firebrand, is approaching, and happy are they who are preparing themselves now to cope with the majestic crisis of that day.

"Bear with me yet a few moments only, till I ask this question,—Will God and His servants in this land permit much longer the survival of a social régime which fosters such conditions for instance as ours to-day, when approximately ten million persons are in actual poverty in the United States, of whom four million are dependent upon public relief, that is, in some degree paupers; when one out of every ten persons who die in New York City is buried at public expense in Potter's Field, and this in spite of the sacrifices the poor make to give their dead private burial; when one *per cent.* of the families of this country hold fifty-four *per cent.* of its wealth, while four-fifths of the working people receive not more than three hundred dollars apiece yearly in wages, and yet are in constant danger of staggering increase in the cost of the necessities of life?

"No, God looks on these His children in such conditions exactly as He beheld the Israelites in bitter bondage long ago, and some how, sometime,—may it be soon!—He will raise up deliverance for them and lead them to a Canaan of social justice and blessing."

So far spoke the young man, and David Ives, looking upon him with kindness answered, "I have listened to your earnest words with more sympathy than I once thought I could ever feel, and these friends who with me have heard your indictment will pardon me if I say frankly that they all together have not given me the relief and the stimulus toward taking up my life once more that you have.

"You spoke of the gathering tempest above an unjust social organization, from which as your figure expressed it, a premonitory leap of lightning has shattered my fortunes. But, ah my young brother, I hear now a deeper, more awful voice in that thunderous pall of cloud than ever spoke to my prosperity-encased soul in the former days. I tremble at its solemn questions, and arraignment of my past blindness, for now both from the world about me and my conscience within, this voice issues, and I know it for the utterance of the Most High to a mercifully awakened spirit.

"And now it seems to say, of my vain arguments and self-vindication, 'Who is this that darkeneth counsel by words without knowledge?' I hear it demand of my infinitesimal life, 'Where wast thou when I laid Creation's cornerstone and fitted the keystone in its awful arch?—when the fixed stars and planets sang together, and the nebulae and comets shouted for joy? Or who shut up the sea with doors of sand, when I made the storm-clouds its raiment, and the trade-winds the Bedouins of its trackless desert?

"By what way is the light parted in the X-ray bulb, when the willow-green fluorescence, isolated from its fellow-rays, discloses to fearful human gaze the arcana of the living body? Who purged and hardened the carbon from its grime and friable weakness, through uncounted ages, till it rolls into the delving hand of man a diamond, with strength beyond tempered steel and heart of glittering splendor like the stars of the artic night?

"Tell now if thou canst, for thou art wise and the number of thy days is great, who hath focussed the inner heat and power of the earth in the grains of radium, that will do great works for thee and past finding out? And who coiled in their stealthy bodies the unmeasured fury of Perunite and gun-cotton? Gavest thou its far-sounding articulation to the telephone, and didst thou instruct the tremors of the wireless telegraph to cross land and sea, and swifter than homing pigeons to their cotes, to seek their receiver and lisp, "Here we are." By whose hand is the glory kindled between the carbons of the arc-lights that flash in the cities of men, and jewel the hillsides like constellations of an earthly zodiac?

"Out of whose cistern are the Great Lakes filled, and who spills the floods of Niagara? Whose hand flings on high the geysers of Wyoming, and from whose bowl brim the currents of the Mississippi and St. Lawrence? Is it thy chisel that had skill to carve the Canon of Arizona, and was strong to hollow the Mammoth Cave? Did they brush paint the turrets and buttes of the Dakota Bad Lands, or the eyries of the Yellowstone Gorge? Didst thou oversee the mason-work of the Garden of the Gods, and the graving of its snow-filled symbol on the Mount of the Holy Cross? By whose forestry were the redwoods of California planted, and the Everglades of Florida embowered? And who calls from the loam of their seeds' burial the crops of wheat and corn, of cotton and flax, whereby the prairies and valleys do laugh and sing?

"Wilt thou hunt the prey for the cougar, or fill the appetite of the grizzly bear, when they couch in their dens and abide in their mountain ambush to lie in wait? Who provideth for the bald eagle his food when his fledglings cry unto God? Knowest thou the time when the mountain sheep bring forth, or canst thou mark when the prairie wolves do litter? Their young ones are in good liking; they go forth and return not unto them.

"Who hath sent out the elk, or who hath loosed the bands of the moose, whose house I have made the wilderness and the barren land their dwellings? They scorn the multitude of the city, neither regard the crying of the driver. The range of the mountains is their pasture, and they search after every green thing. Will the bison be willing to serve thee, or abide by thy crib? Will he harrow the valleys after thee? Wilt thou trust him because his strength is great, or wilt thou believe him that he will bring home thy seed and gather it into thy barn? Gavest thou his strength to the river salmon, that leapeth like the locust and ascendeth the stepless escalade of the waterfall? Or hast thou taught the deep-sea cod his lore and guided the shad and the mackerel in their migrations?

"Didst thou bestow his swiftness and discernment upon the fire-engine horse, and clothe his neck with vehemence. He paweth in his stall; at the clang of the alarm he plungeth forth like a leopard and endureth his falling harness. He goeth out to meet the battalions. He mocketh at danger, neither turneth he back from the heat. The falling walls roar against him, and above him whirl the blinding flame-billows and glittering sparks. He swalloweth the ground with eagerness and rage. He saith among the trumpets, 'Aha!' and he smelleth the smoke afar off. He exulteth at the thunder of the captains and the cries of the beholding throngs.

"Was it by thy gift that the locomotive received its might? It swalloweth fuel as the tiger its meat. Lo now, its strength is in its loins, and its force in the muscles of its thighs. It moveth its piston-rods like weavers' beams and the sinews of its wheel-trucks are knit together. Its voice shouteth in warning to the crossing-places of men in populous cities, pierceth forests as with the wail of the tempest, and shrieketh across the barren lands and limitless prairies like the echoed war-cries of departed tribes. One would think the

ground to be in travail beneath its tread when it rejoiceth to run its course. The winter day is adorned with its high-blown plume of steam that the sinking sun dyes amethyst like the hill-side snows, and the night gazes in awe at the pillar of throbbing fire above its dauntless pilgrimage. Behold such a chief in your time of the ways of God. It sucketh up the span of a state and fainteth not, and trusteth that it can swallow a continent unwearyed.

"Canst thou draw out the steel-furnace's contents with a cup? Will this leviathan make supplications unto thee or speak soft words with thee? Wilt thou play with it as with a torch? If thou lay hand upon it thou wilt remember and do so no more. I will not conceal its parts nor its goodly frame. Who can open the doors of its face, and who dare look into the blaze of its molten sea save through glasses of darkness over the frail vision? Its teeth of fire are terrible round about, and its scales joined one to another that no air can come between them. Out of its nostrils issueth flame, and heat that melteth iron and stubborn ore like tallow abideth in its raging bowels. When it raiseth up itself the mighty are afraid; by reason of consternation they are beside themselves. From its opened sluices poureth a cataract of white-foaming steel to the molds beneath. Encompassing darkness becometh as noon-day with the glare of its torrent; one would think a volcano was spewing

forth its gulf of lava. Upon earth there is not its like, and it is king over all the children of pride."

And after this the soul of David Ives answered the Lord and said, "I know that Thou canst do everything. I have uttered that I understood not,—things too wonderful for me. I have heard of Thee by the hearing of the ear; but now mine eye seeth Thee; wherefore I abhor myself and repent in dust and ashes."

And the Lord turned the captivity of David Ives, and healed his flesh so that it became like that of a child. And there came a telegram declaring that the reported death of his children was only the figment of an unscrupulous press,—that one of their touring-cars had been overturned but no one seriously injured. At the same time the director of the Trust Company brought news that its losses had been made good by the President's relatives, so that the sacrifices of the stock-holders would be restored. And immediately a messenger came from the Detective Bureau, saying that the robbers of the vaults had been captured and their booty of the bonds recovered.

But yet David Ives was of a newspirit, and received his wealth again no longer as its owner but as a steward, until the day should dawn when "charity" should yield place to justice, and the anguish of the ages be turned to joy that Brotherhood is born into the world.

ELIOT WHITE.

Worcester, Mass.

SECRETARY TAFT AND SENATOR LODGE AS UPHOLDERS OF MACHINE-RULE.

BY GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,
President of the National Federation for People's Rule.

THE PEOPLE'S rule in place of machine rule has become a live national issue. Secretary Taft and Senator Lodge have publicly attacked the initiative and referendum, as also have the Oklahoma Republican leaders, and within the Democratic party there is widespread co-operation.

I.

Until the autumn of 1906 the opposition kept itself from public view, fearing discussion. But the movement had reached a point where it was carrying everything before it, which compelled the monopolists and their attorneys to publicly combat the extension of the people's power or lose their monopoly privileges. September, 1906, Senator Lodge opened the campaign at Brookline, Massachusetts, in a carefully prepared speech, the gist of which has been published in *THE ARENA*, together with exposure of its errors. Later came sweeping successes for the people's cause at the polls, followed by battles in some twenty-nine state legislatures and the Oklahoma Constitutional Convention. August 20th, this year, candidate Taft openly stated in his Columbus, Ohio, speech that, in his opinion, the people of this country are not fit to decide issues but should elect rulers. He said:

"The representative government that has served us well for 130 years has not been, for Mr. Bryan, sufficiently expressive of the will of the people. Election of Senators by the people is not enough for him. We must call upon fourteen million electors to legislate directly. Could any more burdensome or inefficient method be devised than this? I believe that a referendum under

certain conditions and limitations in the subdivisions of a State on certain issues may be healthful and useful, but as applied to our national government it is entirely impracticable.

"If it is difficult for the people to use proper judgment in the concrete question of the personality of the representatives they are to select to carry on their national government, as Mr. Bryan's theory assumes, how much more difficult for them to give sufficient attention to the settlement of the many questions of policy and procedure in complicated statutes which the people have always been willing to leave to the decision of their representatives, skilled in the science of legislation, whose general views on the main political issues of the day are well understood. Think of the possibility of securing a vote of fourteen million of electors on the 4,000 items of a tariff bill. The opportunity to retire a representative who fails to be truly representative is all that the people wish and need to enforce their will."

A review of the above shows that Mr. Taft does not describe the initiative and referendum nor tell what it is accomplishing. Why this omission? It must be that had he done so it would have injured his case. The system exists in Oregon, Montana and South Dakota, as he well knows, and is being adopted in Maine, Delaware, Ohio, Missouri, Oklahoma, Utah and North Dakota, with a unanimous vote in the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. There certainly is sufficient history to which he might have referred.

Furthermore, he has mis-described the existing system of government. He says that it is "representative government" and

that it "has served us well for 130 years."

We submit that the existing system in this country is not representative government, but machine rule; and that it has not existed for 130 years. History is clear on these points:

Machine rule, as everyone knows, is the rule of the few through popular forms. The people vote but do not rule. The legislative power is in the few men in office, back of whom are the few who stand ready to contribute the immense campaign funds and usually control the situation.

The system came into being through the debasement of the convention system during the years 1825 to 1844, and is described in contemporary literature. Senator Thomas H. Benton in his *Thirty Years' View*, tells how it came about.

To seriously maintain that machine rule is representative government is ludicrous. As well might it be said that the Roman state under the arbitrary rule of Augustus was a republic. It was merely a republic in name, just as machine rule in this country is representative government.

Representative government is a system in which the people rule. Representative government was established in this country in 1776, for a system prevailed whereby the people could instruct their representatives, and instructions were obeyed. Furthermore, members of the legislatures were pledged by districts and not by machine-rule state and national conventions, as became the case after 1825 to 1844.

For sixty years there was representative government in this country except when the autocratic Federalists were in power—1798–1800. During these sixty years of people's rule there was greater and greater tendency to equal rights. In the words of De Tocqueville who visited America about 1830:

"The democratic principle has gained so much strength by time, by events, and by legislation, as to have become not only predominant, but all-powerful. Men are

seen on a greater equality of fortune and intellect, or, in other words, more equal in their strength than in any other country of the world. . . . The Anglo-Americans are the first nation who have been allowed by their circumstances, their origin, their intelligence, and especially by their morals to establish and maintain the sovereignty of the people."

But as quickly as machine-rule was established the ruling few granted to themselves special privileges, issued enormous amounts of state and municipal bonds, and the railroads started by the states were sold to privately owned corporations. The growth of public debts during the twelve years 1830 to 1842 was from \$13,000,000 to \$200,000,000, an increase of 1,600 per cent. in twelve years. Paper money was issued in huge volumes through banks chartered by the ruling few. In 1839 the inflation bubble burst and depression set in, followed by repudiation of state debts. State conventions met in commonwealth after commonwealth and partially tied the hands of the state machines, restricting the amount of bonds that could be issued without a vote of the people, and constitutional limitations were placed upon the issuance of paper money. Later the railway monopolists charged such outrageous prices and discriminated so glaringly that it brought on the Granger Uprising, 1868 to 1877, and constitutional conventions and state governments were forced to legislate in the people's behalf. Then by act of the Federal Supreme Court the railroad corporations were released from the greater part of state control, since which time the monopolists in interstate commerce were practically unrestrained until President Roosevelt began operations.

During this seventy-five years of rule-of-the-few the wealth of the country has centralized tremendously, whereas under the people's rule the tendency was to equality. This change toward centralization is proof of a change in the ruling power.

But Secretay Taft, while decrying the presence of swollen fortunes, such as the world has never before witnessed, asks the people to leave in place the existing rule-of-the-few system and vote to continue the same party machine! It has not protected the people's interests; it is only the Chief Executive who is fighting some of the Trusts. It is quite probable that the Democratic machine would have done no better, for it is the system that is wrong. But when the people elect representatives pledged to establish a direct-vote system for public questions there will quickly be a change. Then practically all the men elected to office will be such as will really protect the people's interests, as is evidenced by the work of Oklahoma's constitutional convention.

In short, the issue before the people is the restoration of representative government, part of which system is a final power in the voters, otherwise the men in office are not agents but rulers—elected rulers, it is true, but rulers nevertheless.

Only on rare occasions will a national referendum vote be called for, because the mere existence of a veto power will usually be effective. Such is the case with the President's veto power, and in Oregon and South Dakota it is true of the voters' veto power. But should a tariff law be ordered to a referendum campaign and vote and should the bill be rejected it would merely be its return to Congress with orders to pass something better. Undoubtedly Congress would then get closer to the public ideals and interests.

The people throughout the country are becoming acquainted with these facts, and as rapidly as they come to know about them they demand the initiative and referendum. Five years ago in Oregon the vote for the system was 11 to 1, and to-day the sentiment is much stronger. In Maine the last legislature, largely Republican, voted to submit a direct-legislation amendment to the people. Even in Pennsylvania the

last House by a unanimous vote passed a bill for the initiative and referendum for cities and boroughs.

Should Mr. Taft be nominated he will be antagonistic not only to the voters' desires for restoration of self-government but he is the father of government by injunction and is unrepentant, which would cause him to lose not only the Republican referendum states of Oregon, Montana and South Dakota, but would also render very doubtful his carrying New York, New Jersey, Illinois and other northern states where the labor vote is powerful. To-day Mr. Taft is merely on trial. If the Republican machine finds that it cannot win under his leadership it will select another candidate. In casting about it will find, doubtless, that President Roosevelt's ideas as to government by injunction and the continuance of final power in Congress and in the President are the same as Secretary Taft's. This will rule him out, also, unless the machine is so largely controlled by the conservative interests that it will nominate him and die fighting, as did the autocratic Federalist machine and the Whig machine.

On the other hand if the Republican National Convention selects Governor Hughes and if he is a majority rulist, the people's fight will have been won, for the Democrats will undoubtedly nominate Mr. Bryan and the people will not much care which of the majority rulists are in office, for they themselves will have become the sovereign power.

II.

Senator Lodge in a speech before the Central Labor Union at Boston in Faneuil Hall, Sunday, September 15th, this year, amplified his arguments against the initiative and referendum. He spoke for an hour and the substance of what he said is reported in two and a half columns in the Boston *Herald* of the following day. The measure he objected to is the Public Opinion bill, copied from Illinois, where the system was installed in 1901

and by means of which six questions have been voted upon throughout the state and the people of Chicago have settled their street-railway question.

But the report of the senator's speech, carefully prepared, makes no reference to this history but speaks as if the proposed system in Massachusetts is purely an experiment. Why this suppression of facts? Furthermore, no reference is made to the widely-known results of the more complete system, the initiative and referendum. But an outline history of representative government is presented, largely true, and then are stated two great fallacies, the first being that the present-day system of machine-rule in Massachusetts is representative government.

This will deceive only a few voters, for they know that a machine is in power and they want to oust it; and it is self-evident that the establishment of the direct-vote system will do it. Historically considered the voters in Massachusetts used to instruct representatives, and that is just what is proposed in the Massachusetts Public Opinion Bill.

The senator evidently felt that the voters would see this so he proceeded to claim that for them to possess an option to vote direct on state issues would be injurious. His words are:

"I do not distrust the people who make the laws, but I distrust methods of law-making which would force good people to make bad laws."

But the senator refrained from quoting the Illinois history or any other initiative and referendum history. To have so referred would have proved his conclusions to be absolutely unwarranted. What he did was to present analogies and ones which have no application, and then to boldly claim that an option in 5,000 voters to secure direct voting by their fellow-citizens on state questions would actually benefit the bosses and lobbyists. This is the height of audacity, demonstrating that the exigencies of the situation were his only limitations.

The point in the speech most likely to mislead is a claim that under the proposed system "There would be but little chance for discussion, and good legislation without the opportunity for debate, amendment and deliberate consideration is an impossibility."

The fallacy is in concealing the fact that the legislature can amend the bill by providing for committee hearings and for a system whereby competing measures can be submitted, or the legislature can add these features whenever a specially important initiative petition is filed.

This lack of provision for committee hearings and submission of competing measures is not Senator Lodge's real objection, for if it were he would have proposed amendments last winter. His aim is to retain the existing machine-rule system. In his speech he says: "I do not think the people are so weak and stupid that they cannot choose men who will fittingly represent them."

The statement is clearly erroneous, for under existing machine-rule the nominations are controlled by the Republican and Democratic machines and at election time the voters are limited to a choice between these nominees. It is machine-rule. What is needed is restoration of a system in which the voters can instruct their representatives, or, better still, can veto their acts and legislate direct. Only by installing one or the other of these systems can the voters again become the ruling power.

To put an end to the use of sophistries herein exposed the history of machine-rule should become generally known. Machine-rule was installed in this country during the years 1825 to 1844. Just previous to that time the convention system, an improved form of popular government, was debased. Instead of continuing to elect delegates direct to the state and national conventions, or nearly so, the few in control of the state and national committees provided that delegates should elect delegates, and these delegates elect other delegates. In

some cases the delegates were four times removed from the people. Thus the people were unable to control the conventions thereby losing the power to control nominations and platforms. But the people continued to participate in electing delegates and felt bound by their action, which prevented a return to the old-time practice of instructing elected representatives at town meetings and mass meetings. Furthermore, that system is outgrown and a better one exists, namely, the advisory initiative and

advisory referendum, provided for in the Massachusetts Public Opinion bill. For state questions nothing short of a statewide campaign and vote is sufficient.

Had the senator admitted these facts he would have lacked a basis for his sophistries. Only by suppressing important facts can illogical conclusions be drawn. One who has no case is compelled either to yield or stoop to fallacious reasoning.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

Washington, D. C.

DANIEL'S VISION: AN INTERPRETATION OF THE MEANING OF THE FOURTH GREAT BEAST.

BY GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS,
Author of "Bible Allegories."

NOT SINCE the beginning of our era has such a sweeping change been made from the orthodox view of Daniel's visions. These new interpretations are startling and momentous. It is a well known and admitted fact that the old interpretations have given to Christendom more comfort during the past nineteen hundred years than any part of Scripture. The great reliance upon them has been the natural outgrowth of a theory promulgated by the clergy and Bible commentators throughout the world. Therefore the church at large relies implicitly upon the fulfilment of these prophecies.

The author had always supposed that these visions or prophecies, while wonderfully strange, were otherwise sound and invulnerable, and therefore passed them by. But after he had written *The Bible Allegories*, which is an interpretation of the blessings of Jacob and Moses as recorded in Gen., 49, and Deut., 33 he found these so-called visions to be veritable astronomical observations. They relate mainly to the seasons of the year.

Had these two chapters of Scripture been understood by the world two thousand years ago, and published as they are to-day, no such inconsistent or irrelevant meaning could have been given to the prophet's language, because any one conversant with the meaning of these two great chapters could have no trouble with the interpretation of Daniel's visions or those of St. John in Revelations. Every line which Daniel wrote plainly reveals the fact that he was as familiar with those blessings as were Jacob and Moses themselves. The heart itself has no more importance to our physical system than the meaning of these chapters has to the religion of Israel.

Scholars familiar with ancient Oriental literature need not be told that it was the custom of the learned to veil their meaning in allegories, which, while hidden from the ignorant, were thoroughly understandable to the initiated, and I think any student of Hebrew Scriptures, who will put aside prejudice, will readily see that this was the case in the famous passages in Genesis and Deuteronomy.

Moreover, it would seem that the initiated or astronomical class went out of existence between the time of Daniel and the Christian era, and the key to Scripture was then lost.

The author will have no trouble in demonstrating that Daniel had no visions, although he purposely assigned them as such. This he did in order to lead astray the ignorant, vulgar and credulous class who knew nothing of the kingdom of heaven, or the elementary principles of astronomy. These sights, or visions, were each and all astronomical observations. They have no relation whatever to prophecy.

Daniel was one of the leading lights of his day and age. For mental acumen, natural discernment and eagle-eyed penetration, he was without a peer.

Dan., 7:7: "After this I saw in the night visions, and behold a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly; and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it; and it had ten horns."

Dan., 7:8: "I considered the horns, and, behold, there came up among them another little horn, before whom there were three of the first horns plucked up by the roots: and, behold, in this horn were eyes like the eyes of man, and a mouth speaking great things."

The four beasts which the prophet saw rise up from the sea were Taurus the Bull, Leo the Lion, Scorpio the Scorpion, and Aquarius the Water-bearer. These four principal signs or beasts have a sign, beast or constellation on each side of them, and these were considered then to be the guardians of the earth during the four seasons of the year.

The prophet was obliged to change the appearance of the fourth beast in order to suit his ingenious dissertation on the evil and malevolent character of winter. By his imagination he produced a mythical nondescript, the like of which could not be found in heaven or

upon the earth. He truthfully symbolized the destructive ravages of winter, a season diverse from each of the other seasons of the year. The great iron teeth represented the destructive effect of frost, which in the fourth season is everywhere apparent. It might be called the destructive season.

The horns are mythological, yet they truthfully represent the power and influence of the sun throughout the year. The ten horns of this beast are the months of March, April, May, June, July, August, September, October, November, and December. These ten months had come and gone, but the little horn was yet to come. Seven of these horns represented the seven summer or productive months, known in ancient days as "the favored seven." The other three, which were plucked up by the roots, were the semi-winter months,—October, November and December. Being plucked up by the roots means that their time had expired, had lapsed or passed by, and was superseded by the little horn.

This condition or situation can be explained to better advantage by a mythological passage of Scripture found in I. Sam., 5:2: "When the Philistines took the ark of God, they brought it into the house of Dagon, and set it by Dagon. And when they of Ashdod arose early on the morrow, behold, Dagon was fallen upon his face to the ground before the ark of the Lord; and the head of Dagon and both palms of his hands were cut off upon the threshold; only the stump of Dagon was left to him."

This signifies that when January was passed and gone, the part of the image which represented the head, face and rams of a man (the Water-bearer of the zodiac) fell down and broke, leaving only the fish part to represent the sign Pisces, the Fishes, which guard the earth in February. Thus the eyes in this horn, or mouth, were those of Aquarius.

Dan., 7:17: "These great beasts,

which are four, are four kings, which shall arise out of the earth."

No one in the world, no matter what his attainments, can accurately interpret the words of this text without his being conversant with the meaning of Gen., 49 and Deut., 33. How could any one derive the knowledge that these four beasts are four kings? Nay, but they are more: they are four great celestial, kings! None but Jacob and Moses, the two most distinguished leaders of Israel, have ever spoken of them. Let us patiently examine the words and see where they originated.

The twelve signs or beasts of the celestial zodiac were known anterior to the Bible. Each one of them occupies a twelfth part of that great zone or belt of stars. They are forty-five million miles long by twenty-four million miles wide, and the earth's orbit or ecliptic runs through or by them.

Jacob and Moses in their immortal blessings appointed each one of Jacob's twelve sons to be the genius or spirit of the shining Lord, and they personify the twelve beasts of the zodiac.

Gen., 35:11, gives us to understand that Jacob's twelve sons were all born kings. Ephraim, Judah, Dan and Reuben were appointed by their father and by Moses to be these four heavenly kings. Moreover, if there is any truth in Israel, they will reign as kings forever. These four great kings personified the four beasts, which were seen by St. John worshiping in the midst of the throne and round about the throne.

Even though our space is limited, we must give a brief synopsis of the importance of these four great reigning monarchs.

Ephraim as king reigns over the three constellations of Aries the Ram, Taurus the Bull, and Gemini the Twins, while his shining Lord is passing through them, as he does annually in March, April and May.

Judah as king presides over the constellations of Cancer the Crab, Leo the

Lion, and Virgo the Virgin, while his Lord is going through them on his annual journey in June, July and August.

Dan as king rules over Libratrethe Scales, Scorpio the Scorpion, and Sagittarius the Archer, while the shining God of Israel is passing through his dominions, as he does annually in September, October and November.

Reuben as king rules over the constellations of Capricornus the Goat, Aquarius the Water-bearer, and Pisces the Fishes, while his Lord the sun is passing through his dominions, as he does yearly in December, January and February.

All this interesting knowledge has for the past two thousand years been hidden beneath a veil, but now it is recovered, with a thousand other treasures. It all comes from that oriental mine—the immortal blessings of the Patriarch and the Law-Giver.

Dan., 7:18: "But the saints of the most High shall take the kingdom, and possess the kingdom for ever, even for ever and ever."

The author desires to give a clear and adequate conception of these saints of the most High, as the orthodox view is empirical and misleading.

The saints of the most High are the genii, spirits or messengers of the sun and the personification of the beasts of the zodiac and the ten thousands who are under them. They are the stars within the orbit of Saturn or Israel; the Bene-Yesreille, or "Children of Israel." In Numbers, 23:24, we find this text: "Behold, the people shall rise up as a lion, and lift up himself as a young lion."

The words, "The people," here are allegorical, and are consequently misleading, and this simple and seemingly innocent deception constitutes the veil, a covering that has securely hidden its meaning for over three thousand years!

The words, "the people," signify "the stars." Then it becomes an easy matter to observe how nearly literal this

troublesome text has been. To illustrate: Behold, *the stars* shall rise up as a lion, as the constellation of the Lion invariably rises, on *schedule* time, in each and every year. And it is lifted up by the power of the sun, as all the other constellations are, and with the ease that a spry young lion would rise; and, further, the text informs us, "he shall not lie down until he eat of the prey, and drink the blood of the slain."

Here we encounter the words "blood" and "slain." Their plain and obvious meaning has been changed to the esoteric or allegorical, which has figuratively imprisoned their sense for ages.*

The twelve constellations are the twelve tribes of Israel. Not one of the children of Isreal ever existed upon the earth. We can affirm it with overwhelming evidence.

Deut., 33:2: "The Lord came from Sinai, and rose up from Seir unto them: he shined forth from Mount Paran."

The Lord that *rises* and *shines* is the sun. He belongs exclusively to the celestial zodiac and dwells between the cherubim. (*Ps., 80:1.*)

"He came with ten thousands of saints: from his right hand went a fiery law (or law of fire) for them."

For what special purpose did this shining Lord give this army of saints a fiery law, or law of fire? It was because a most stupendous task confronted him; a task which contemplated the elimination of water from the sea. But how and in what way could the Lord and his saints bring water from the sea? There was but one way by which it could be done. It would have to be accomplished by means of evaporation or distillation. But would not these refining processes require an enormous expenditure of heat? Yes, it certainly would. But when Moses said: "From his right went a fiery law for his saints," he had in contemplation the Lord's indescribable heat. St. Paul held a similar idea when

he said: "For our God is a consuming fire." (*Heb., 12:29.*)

Thus, then, by that fiery law his chosen saints distilled the briny waters of the sea. Neptune's realm was placed directly under tribute, and the four winds of heaven wafted this treasure over distant lands where it was needed. These saints or spirits of the most High thrice refined the waters of the sea, leaving the saline ingredients behind. These knowing confidential saints, as it were, guaranteed its purity to meet the exact demands of all organic life. They sent it away piled up in stories, one above the other. It floated on the ambient air. These brimming clouds—these carriers of the sky, were hailed as golden chariots, or "chariots of salvation." They were gilded with burnished gold. Their beneficent mission was to multiply the products of the soil, and by saving millions from starvation they earned full well their glorious epithet. *Hab., 3:8,* calls them "the Lord's chariots of salvation."

Dan., 7:19: "Then I would know the truth of the fourth beast, which was diverse from all the others, exceeding dreadful, whose teeth were of iron, and his nails of brass; which devoured, brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with his feet."

The fourth beast is a faithful symbol of the fourth season, or winter. The iron teeth, and nails of brass, assail everything upon the earth that grows, and truly portray the malevolent character of winter.

The allegorical iron signifies the literal frost. It congeals or freezes the ground it cuts down and breaks in pieces, and figuratively stamps what is left under its feet.

Dan., 7:20: "And of the ten horns that were in his head, and of the other which came up, and before whom three fell; even of that horn that had eyes, and a mouth that spake very great things, whose look was more stout than his fellows."

*This thought is elucidated in *The Bible Allegories*, pages 215-220.

Most of this verse has been explained. The apparent denunciation alluded to, as words from a mouth which spake very great things, was the howling, roaring, driving tempests which rave and rage for days and nights with wild and unabated fury. This boisterous force and vehemence might easily be construed as vituperation or a violent discharge of temper, grossly expressed by its incoherent vocabulary.

The words, "whose look was more stout than his fellows," mean that all animals, as well as men, clad in winter with heavy coats of hair, wool, or fur, which greatly increase their bulk and add to their appearance, so that they look more stout than at other seasons of the year.

Dan., 7:21: "I beheld, and the same horn made war with the saints, and prevailed against them."

This little horn practically controls the severest part of winter. It rules in December, January and February, guarded by Aquarius and personified by Reuben. The winter rarely closes with February; it more often extends through March and even levies tribute from April.

Gad, Ephraim, Asher, Issacher, Judah, Naphtali and Joseph are the primitive saints of the most High. They were the first saints ever appointed. They, as regal successors in the months of the year, have a right to control every day of March and April; yet this little horn, in the partial absence of the most High, asserts its power and makes war with the saints and prevails against them.

Dan., 7:22: "Until the Ancient of days came, and judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

The Ancient of days is the great planet Saturn; no modern astronomers have more correctly described it than did Daniel.

The reader should know what the prophet said about this heavenly wonder.

Dan., 7:9: "I beheld till the thrones were cast down, and the Ancient of days did sit."

We have already shown that the twelve sons of Jacob are kings that reign over the twelve tribes of Israel, which are the twelve constellations of the zodiac. As these constellations are governed by kings, they are called kingdoms and dominions. And kings have thrones. By the revolution of the earth these thrones, kingdoms or constellations were apparently cast down, *i. e.*, they were setting behind the sea or horizon.

"And the Ancient of days did sit." This simply means that the astronomer Daniel sat up so late that he beheld the planet go down.

"Whose garment was white as snow." The garments of all the planets are white as snow, because they reflect the rays of pure light directly from the most High.

"His throne was like the fiery flame and his wheels as burning fire."

All the nations of antiquity worshiped this most wonderful planet. He was the outside world in our solar system, as Uranus and Neptune were undiscovered then. The diameter of his orbit is one billion, eight hundred million miles, and he makes a journey around it in twenty-nine of our years. The Chaldeans called him Abram, High Father, or Father of Heaven; the Arabians knew him as Remphan; the Greeks as Kronos, from which comes our word chronology; the Phoenicians knew him as Israel; and the prophet Daniel gave him the name of Ancient of Days.

"And judgment was given to the saints of the most High; and the time came that the saints possessed the kingdom."

This passing judgment is purely mythological. By the science of astronomy we learn that the planet of Saturn is a vast material world, incapable of being endowed with the faculties of mind, and therefore could not render judgment in any sense whatever.

Dan., 7:23: "Thus he said, The fourth beast shall be the fourth kingdom

upon earth, which shall be diverse from all kingdoms, and shall devour the whole earth, and shall tread it down, and break it in pieces."

This signifies that the fourth beast, Aquarius, is the guardian and protector of the earth during the fourth season, or winter, which is a season diverse from all the seasons, and it annually devours the whole earth, metaphorically treads it down and breaks it in pieces. The most High is powerless then.

Dan., 7:24: "And the ten horns out of this kingdom are ten kings that shall arise."

This means in literal language, And the ten months out of this season have ten constellations that guard and protect them, which are reigned over by ten kings: Gad, Ephraim, Asher, Issacher, Judah, Napthali, Joseph, Dan, Benjamin, and Zebulon. These ten kings always rise with these constellations, kingdoms or dominions, and have done so for ages.

"And another shall arise after them; and he shall be diverse from the first, and he shall subdue three kings."

The king who shall rise after them is Jacob's son Reuben. He is the royal king of winter. He is diverse from the first,—that is, he is diverse from the saints of the most High, who reign while their shining Lord is vested with full power and passes through the constellations which guard the earth in summer.

"And he shall subdue three kings." The kings which he shall subdue are Dan, Benjamin and Zebulon,—those who guard the earth during the semi-winter months, October, November and December. Subduing, in mythology, does not mean conquering. The months pass by, and are then considered slain. Then it is averred that their successor subdues them. Reuben was simply their successor.

Dan., 7:25: "And he shall speak great words against the most High, and shall wear out the saints of the most High."

The most High, the sun, during January and February often makes no

appearance for many days together, and winter holds the earth in its embrace.

"And think to change times and laws: and they shall be given into his hand until a time and times and the dividing of time."

Owing to the furious character of the elements, Reuben, the reigning monarch of winter, thinks to change times and laws. This thought undoubtedly sprang from the fact that he was in complete possession and control, and there was no power to be seen commensurate to successfully resist him. Therefore, everything was under the yoke of his despotic administration. He holds in his iron grasp the taut, inelastic reins of winter and thinks to change existing statutes, and for a time, indeed, they were given into his hand.

Dan., 7:26: "But the judgment shall sit, and they shall take away his dominion, to consume and to destroy it unto the end."

This signifies that time keeps on in its forward march; and while conditions of a local nature may hinder and temporarily delay a season, there is always a well defined limit, beyond which they cannot go. Then the ancients said: The judgment sits, i. e., a successor is installed, with a new reign or policy. Thus the saints of the most High annually succeed king Reuben, as certainly as summer succeed the winter; and this condition or recurrence is perpetual.

The most High is indeed the all-commanding force or power. He annually should have the credit for this beneficent change. As time moves on, he strenuously asserts his normal power, until his burning rays thaw the frozen fields and destroy and utterly consume the stings of winter. Then his chosen saints possess the allegorical kingdom, or literal season.

Dan., 7:27: "And the kingdom and dominion, and the greatness of the kingdom under the whole heaven." This signifies that the season and the greatness of the season, under the whole heaven or throughout the earth, extends all around

the world and always covers a hemisphere for while we have the season of summer in our half of the world, it is winter in the other, and *vice versa*.

The kingdom "shall be given to the people of the saints of the most High" means that the literal season in all its greatness, which is annually produced by the most High, shall be given to the people of the earth, who are guarded and protected, always, by his chosen saints. These saints are residents of the constellations, where, with the most High, they reign. It is through their beneficent care and watchfulness that the benign influences of heaven extend to us on earth, as there is not a day, nay, not an hour, of our lives that we are not the recipients of them.

The kingdom of the most High "is an everlasting kingdom, and all dominions shall serve and obey him."

This sentence shows that Daniel thought that the sun—the most High—was the Ruler of All. But in this his knowledge was inadequate.

The most High is distinctively a local god, who dwells between the cherubim—the twelve constellations of the zodiac. His family of worlds physically serve and obey him. But it is the Infinite, Invisible Deity who reigns supreme not only over the most High but over countless millions of other suns and systems throughout His immeasurable universe.

He will reign forever and forever.

GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS.
Chicago, Ill.

THE CONSERVATIVE SQUIRREL.

BY ELIJAH O. JONES.

AS I WANDERED through the forest, I spied a squirrel.

"Oh Squirrel," said I, calling from afar, "why do you run away?"

"Oh," answered the Squirrel, keeping the tree and a hundred feet between us, "that is my human nature."

"Oh but I will not hurt you," said I.

"Oh but how do I know?" cried the Squirrel. "Everyone and everything are against me. There are wild animals and wild birds and wild men with guns and I have to be very careful indeed. Even my fellow Squirrels try to get the nuts I gather and I have to hide them with great care. And, no matter how hard I labor and no matter how many nuts we gather, sometimes a hard winter comes and the snow covers the ground for many weeks, so that it is often impossible to get to our store houses and many of us freeze to death or starve to death."

"Oh yes," said I, "but you are now living in a state of barbarism. Come with me. Let me show you how to live more easily and then you will cease to fear. You will live in a state of brotherhood and understand the meaning of love."

"Oh that is all very well in theory," sneered the Squirrel. "It will not work in practice. We are already a Christian community. We know the ten commandments and the beatitudes and say them regularly, but of course, it is not feasible to live them. You cannot change our human nature. We have been this way always and so we must continue to remain, at least for thousands of years."

"Oh but I know where there is a beautiful park," I persisted, "with plenty of nuts and magnificent squirrel mansions built in the trees, where there are no dogs and no wild animals and no wild men with guns and where little children

come all winter and all summer long with choice morsels of food. In this beautiful park, the Squirrels are not afraid. They do not run away when anyone approaches and they will even eat out of the little children's hands."

"Oh but that cannot possibly be," maintained the squirrel. "That would be Utopia. You are either a dreamer or else the forms of life you have observed are not Squirrels, for it is the human nature of Squirrels to be timid and to run away when man approaches. To change it would require thousands of years. Do not trench on credulity by telling me it can be accomplished in a life-time."

"Oh but it is so, friend Squirrel. Does not your human nature allow you to be friendly to those who are friendly to you?"

"Oh but there are n't any such. This is a world of the survival of the fittest, every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost and it would take thousands of years to change it."

"Oh but, if there were such a world as I describe, do you not think that it would be better than the miserable struggle for existence that now engages your whole time and attention?"

"Oh, by no means," said the Squirrel. "If life were made any easier, it would destroy all incentive to make it better. Go away! I have no time to listen to your subversive doctrinal rubbish. You are a base agitator, a self-seeking demagogue and an enemy of society, for you are striking at its very roots and spreading discontent."

ELLIS O. JONES.
Columbus, Ohio.

STEVENSON IN SAN FRANCISCO.

BY JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

SEVERAL years ago in San Francisco I read Robert Louis Stevenson's comment on "the evocation of that roaring city in a few years of a man's life from the marshes and the blowing sand." I was impressed at the time by the characteristic difference between his old world point-of-view and our own, we taking as a matter of course this phenomenal growth of our cities, which he could only liken to "some enchantment of the *Arabian Nights*."

"Such swiftness of increase," he continues, still speaking of San Francisco, "as with an overgrown youth suggests a corresponding swiftness of destruction. We are in early geological epochs, changeful and insecure, and we feel as with a sculptor's model, that the author may yet grow weary of and shatter the rough sketch."

The recent destruction of San Francisco

lends to these words a tragic significance and recalls vividly to my mind a morning spent searching out Stevenson's haunts in the old mission quarter of that city. There, after the last act of the play was over, the lights out and the actor long since gone, I saw the stage (even that vanished now!) where he played out the grimdest act of his life's tragedy. As I stood before the dreary working-man's lodging house there came to me a vision of the "sick man" who lived there "all alone, on forty-five cents a day and sometimes less, with quantities of hard work and many heavy thoughts, burying so much courage and suffering in the manuscript" we read to-day with such delight; trying so bravely to "fight it through," with "no one but his landlady and restaurant waiters to speak to for days at a time;" in that glad Christmas season, the face of death almost the only

friendly face at hand, seemingly not unkindly as he lifts his own to meet it. For "death is no bad friend," he writes, "like the truant child, I am beginning to grow weary and timid in this big jostling city and would run to my nurse even although she should have to whip me before putting me to bed."

Walking over to his restaurant on Bush street, the chill wind from the bay beating in my face, I could almost hear him say, "I'm the miser in earnest now, and Saturday when I felt so ill it seemed strange not to be able to afford a drink I would have walked half a mile—tired as I felt—for a brandy and soda."

I had my lunch on a bare table in the little café where everything was marked five cents, from the pea soup to the cup custard. But, while I could follow up this frugal repast by a dinner at Marchand's at night, he had nothing better to look forward to after that "drop from a fifty cent to a twenty-five cent dinner" which he records in a letter, adding quickly: "but I regret nothing and do not even dislike these straits, though the flesh will rebel on occasion."

The elderly man who waited on me had, I thought, a slight Dutch accent and, with a woman's intuition, I instantly recognized in him that "waiter of High Dutch extraction, indeed only partially extracted" in Stevenson's day,—by this time thoroughly extracted and Americanized and proud proprietor of the little restaurant.

"What could be more romantic!" I mused. In my enthusiasm it seemed to me at that moment entirely worth his while to have been incarcerated in this



ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON.
The Bronze Memorial by Augustus Saint Gaudens, in St Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh.

cubby-hole for a score of years, waiting for me to arrive on the scene to discover and identify him!

I could hardly wait until the man came out of the kitchen with my pork pie, to ask him all about "the slender gentleman in the ulster, with the volume buttoned into the breast of it," whom he had served so often with coffee and rolls.

"Stevenson," I explained, as he stared at me blankly;—"Robert Louis, you know; tell me all you can remember of him."

Alas for my conjectures and theories! The man seemed suddenly stripped of even the slight Dutch accent that had so stimulated my imagination. He stood before me a most painfully prosaic Yankee, as he explained politely that he had been in San Francisco almost two years, but had never seen the "party in question." When I had succeeded in straightening out his ideas, however, he had the grace to remember that one afternoon, the year before, some people calling themselves "The Stevenson Fellowship Society" had taken possession of the café, made speeches and toasts and broken bread in memory of Stevenson. After their strange banquet, they had all walked over to Portsmouth

Square and planted an ivy from Scotland back of his monument.

For in this city which never knew him when he was in her midst, there was erected a beautiful monument to "remember him" when he was gone.

"Lonely, ill and poor, estranged from his people, unsuccessful in his work and discouraged in his attempt to maintain himself," yet meeting every fresh wave of defeat with the same indomitable spirit,—the picture we have of Stevenson in San Francisco is indeed inspiring.

In the face of unfavorable criticism of his work by his best friends at home, he is still "not disheartened," confident "there is something in him worth saying, though he can't find what it is just yet," and determined to "fumble for the new vein until he finds it." He turned out an immense amount of literary work during his four and a half months stay in San Francisco; his essays on *Thoreau*, *Yoshida Torajiro*, *Benjamin Franklin*, *The Art of Virtue*, *William Penn* and *Dialogue Between Two Puppets*, being all written and sent home at this time. Here also he finished *The Amateur Emigrant*, the second part of which he says was "written in a circle of hell unknown to Dante, that of the penniless and dying author, for dying I was," he adds. "One of the causes which contributed to his illness," says Sidney Colvin, "was the fatigue he underwent in helping to watch beside the sick-bed of a child, the son of his landlady. During March and a part of April he lay at death's door."

Although he applied for work on various newspapers, the payment offered was too small for one of his painstaking literary habits to consider, and with the exception of two articles published in the *San Francisco Bulletin*, he had no connection with the press of that city. On his marriage in May, 1880, to Fanny Van de Grift, he left at once with his wife and stepson for the little deserted mining camp of Calistoga, where their life is described in *Silverado Squatters*. The *South Sea Idylls* which he read at this time fascinated him greatly, and it

is probable strengthened that impels which in the end was to "cast him out as by a freshet" upon those "ultimate islands."

Nine years later, ill and broken, he came once again to San Francisco where the yacht "Casco" waited to take him on his far journey to the South Seas. How far a journey it was to be he little knew; but I think he would have embarked no less gladly had he realized in very truth his ship was sailing toward the setting sun.

Some thought like this the artist must have had when he designed his San Francisco monument, a golden ship in full sail—fit emblem of a life "tossed with tempests, yet comforted" and comforting—a ship that sailed strange seas, that breasted many a wave and came at last into port with mast erect and colors gaily flying.

In their admiration for Stevenson the writer, some people are apt to forget that the life he lived was greater than anything he wrote. The story of his wanderings, so full of pathos, heroism, and vital human interest, forms a kind of nineteenth century *Odyssey* that has thrilled our generation as does no piece of mere literature, ancient or modern.

Of course the San Francisco period is only one brief chapter of this story. In all parts of the world travellers are constantly coming upon Stevensons' footprints: "Skerryvore" in Scotland; Monterey on the Pacific coast; the little Swiss chalet in the mountains at Davos; the cottage by the wood at Saranac Lake; "La Solitude" at Hyeres; these and far away Vailima with its mountain grave, all bear witness to his ceaseless quest for that one good the gods denied him, the gift of health, without which all his other gifts seemed so cruelly handicapped.

And yet it is a question to what extent this lack of physical strength took from the value of his work as a whole; for, if we recognize that the personality of the man adds the finishing touch of charm to his writing, we must remember that



the strength of his spirit was made perfect in the weakness of his flesh. Indeed, can we forget how often the undaunted soul of the man came to the rescue of his broken body, while his persistent will to live and will to work seemed for a season to conquer even fate itself? It is for this above all else that men must love and revere him, this courage which was Spartan in its simplicity and Christian in its essence, which had the appealing grace of sweetness, the immortal gift of light. His courage had also that rare quality of gaiety which enabled him to line with light the clouds that were forever closing in on his horizon; to resolve that, if in his corner the sun could not shine, the heavens for others should not be darkened. He had a silver tongue, and there was music and magic in his speech, but I love him most for his golden silences, for those times when he did not lift up his voice nor cry out—when his soul kept dumb faith with God. JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN.

Bloomington, Ill.

IMPRESSIONISTIC PHOTOGRAPHY: A CONVERSATION.

BY PAUL FOURNIER.

[Note: In the February ARENA we published an extended paper on *Photography: Its True Function and Its Limitations*, in which we took occasion to criticize the work of many of the impressionists who have seemed to imagine that the function of photography was to secure strange, curious and unusual effects by manipulation and empirical treatment. Some of these photographers appeared to imagine that photography was destined to supersede the work of the artist of the brush, and we aimed to show how different were the legitimate spheres of the artistic photographer and the painter. True, many photographers have succeeded in producing some exceptionally fine work that is essentially impressionistic in character. They have to a certain degree succeeded in catching the atmosphere in scenes portrayed, especially in out-door

pictures which reveal nature in her varying moods; but these have usually been obtained by strictly legitimate processes.

Among the younger American photographers who have already made a considerable reputation for impressionistic work, is Mr. Paul Fournier, whose interview we take pleasure in presenting below, together with typical examples of some of his recent work. Mr. Fournier was born in Minnesota and educated in Minneapolis, although he has traveled in Europe and resided for some time in Paris. Since 1903 his home has been in East Aurora and in Philadelphia. He is a member of the Photographic Society of Philadelphia and of the Photographers' Association of America.—Editor of THE ARENA.

Question. What are your views in regard to the scope and proper function of photography, apart from the ordinary taking of photographs?

Answer. Hundreds of people can make photographs and thousands can squeeze a bulb with some degree of success, but I hardly think this is what



Photo. by Sherwell Ellis.

PAUL FOURNIER.

photography means. Photography in its true meaning is a very serious thing. A snap-shot fiend is no photographer any more than a piano player in a moving-picture show is a musician, or a lightning-artist is an artist. The idea of a photograph is to get life and action together with pleasing composition and correct lighting and shading and color values. That is, the correct rendition of light and dark and red and blue.

Q. Are you in favor of working for surprising results by experimental or empirical methods, or do you believe in getting the best possible results by catching nature in her varying moods and by making studies of your characters, so as to make the plate produce the greatest possible artistic results without attempts at manipulation for surprising results?

A. There is no use in making surprising and unusual pictures simply to be unusual. The idea is to make a picture beautiful. If you can do it by making unusual pictures, then all right, so much the better. If not, then it is a good plan to manipulate. Do anything to

make a beautiful picture. Photography is only a means to an end.

Nature at her best can never be improved upon. Therefore if you have a picture which illustrates nature at her best, there can be no improvement upon it. But very often photography cannot accomplish this, then you have to manipulate to get the desired picture. In the end I am in favor of doing anything to make a picture look as beautiful as possible.

Q. Will you illustrate your theory in regard to photographic art by descriptions of how you have proceeded in obtaining certain photographs, and the results?

A. In the pictures of the buildings in the distance, the man at the fire-place, the stoker, the snow scene, the profile portrait, and the cloud picture, there was no manipulation. They were simply straight prints from straight negatives.

In the portrait of Horace Traubel the lighting was made a little unusual, perhaps, the light being behind the subject.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

HORACE TRAUBEL.

The reason for my doing this was to accentuate the beautiful white hair and leave the light blue eyes in the shadow; otherwise the eyes would have taken much too light. The ordinary dry plate is very apt to reproduce pale blue as nearly white.

It should always be the idea of the photographer to accentuate the good points and obscure the bad ones.

When I took the sunset picture there were many clouds in the sky but very few showed in the negative. I therefore tried to work into the negative such clouds as I had seen, as nearly as I could remember, and thus I got what I consider a beautiful sky picture.

The picture of evening in spring I think is almost an exact reproduction of nature, as nearly as could be accomplished with a one-color process. The landscape had a very heavy black cloud



Photo, by Paul Fournier.

A STERLING CLOUD EFFECT.

near the horizon as is shown in the picture. The negative failed to reproduce this. Therefore I shaded the sky until I got the desired effect.

The portrait of a girl shows a background worked in. The background originally was solid black but I found that by lightening it around the face I could bring the figure nearer, as it were. Many people have criticized the hand in this picture. This hand was dropped into its position unconsciously, and as I

found it would be an original aid to the composition without being affected I decided to leave it in.

Q. Do you think that the photographer to do really great work in photography must have the poet's or the artist's soul, besides being a master of technique, so as to know just how to obtain the best possible legitimate results and to effectively catch nature in her varying moods?

A. Yes—I think a



Photo, by Paul Fournier.

EVENING IN SPRING.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

PORTRAIT OF A GIRL.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

THE STOKER.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

A STUDY IN PERSPECTIVE.



Photo. by Paul Fournier.

PROFILE PORTRAIT.



Photo, by Paul Fournier.

WINTER SCENE.

photographer must have the poet's or artist's soul, or rather the photographer's soul, which is probably greater than any of the others. He *must* have an idea of the beautiful and must try to think of the beautiful and nothing else.

I know a photographer who lives in a small town. He is master of technique but he has neither artistic ability or business ability. After thirty years of careful and thoughtful labor he remains where he began. He has never had an idea of what was beautiful. I have also known many photographers who were masters of technique and had great business ability. These photographers have succeeded the best because they had the most perfect idea of what would please the popular taste:

but they were not artists in any sense of the word. Artists sometimes fall below in business ability but they are generally masters of technique.

Q. What are your views in regard to the present stage of photographic development? Do you think that it will be carried much further than it has already been carried, or that we have already practically reached the limits of achievement in camera work?

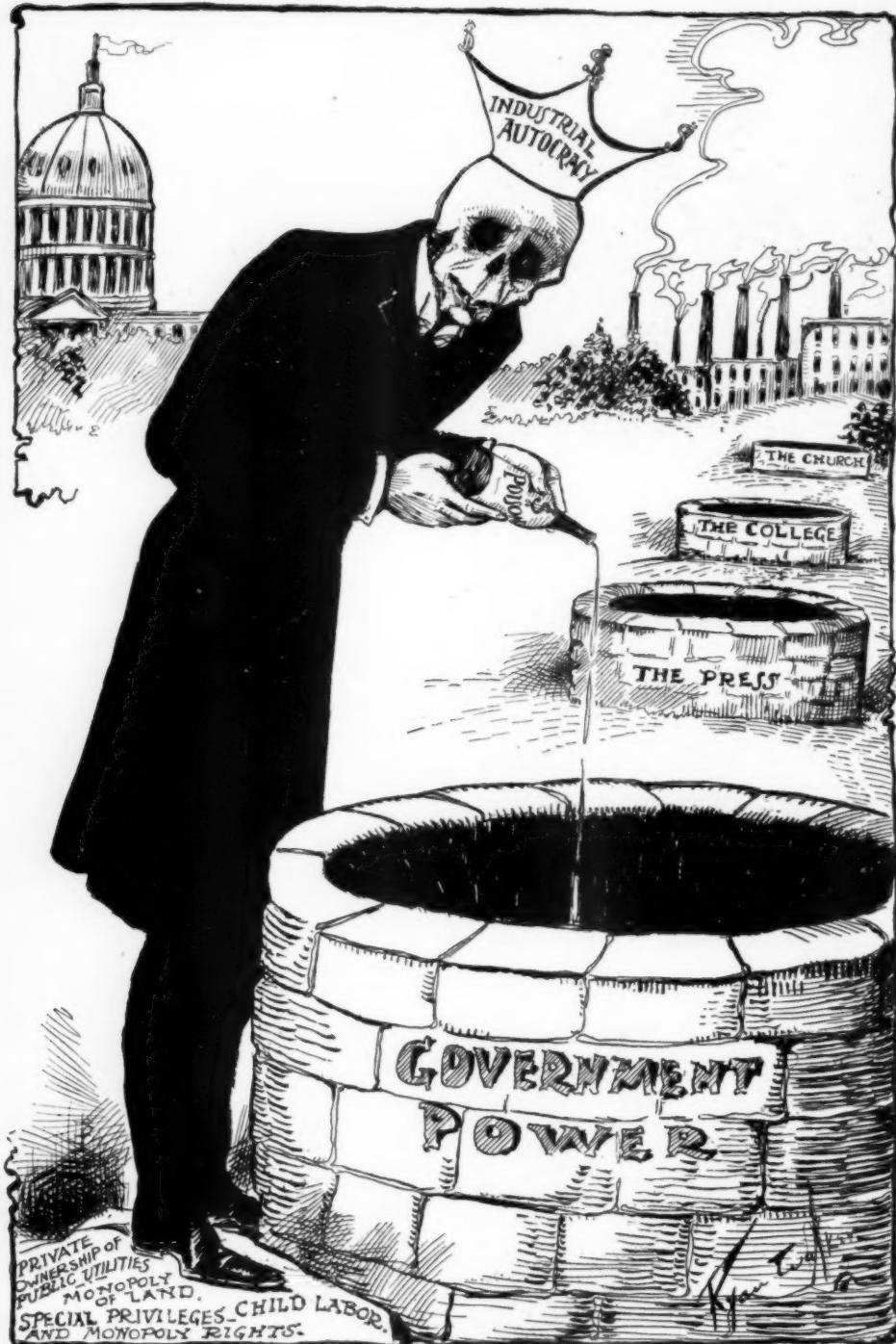
A. Photography is only one of many means to an end. It is perhaps the most perfect means to the end. Some people say it is only mechanical. As far as that is concerned why are not brushes, paint and canvas mechanical and why is not a piano mechanical? If this were so, only passes in the air would be art, and singing the only music. But this is not so. Nothing in art is mechanical that accomplishes the end. Photography has not reached a one-hundredth part of the growth that it will reach. My photographs are only examples of what may be accomplished at the present day. We will laugh at these ten years from now, the same as we now laugh at photographs which were made ten years ago, and photographers who are working ten years behind the times.

PAUL FOURNIER.
Philadelphia, Pa.



Photo, by Paul Fournier.

IN THE FIRELIGHT.



Drawn expressly for THE ARENA, by Ryan Walker

POISONING THE WELLS.

Industrial Autocracy—"Having poisoned the Wells, all I ask is to be left alone."

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



Opper, in New York American (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

THE COURT OF NO APPEALS.
If You Don't Want It, Vote Against It!



Nye, in Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine, Atlanta, Ga.

YOU LABORERS MUST BE HAPPY!



Hughes in Charlotte (N. C.) News.

THE MODERN BILL SYKES OF THE SOUTH.



Sullivan, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).

THE JACKALS.



Spencer, in The Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.

NONE SO HUMBLE AS TO ESCAPE THE MONSTER.



THE BOODLERS DRIVEN FROM THE CAPITOL BY THE REFERENDUM.

536 *Politics, The People and The Trusts as Seen by Cartoonists.*



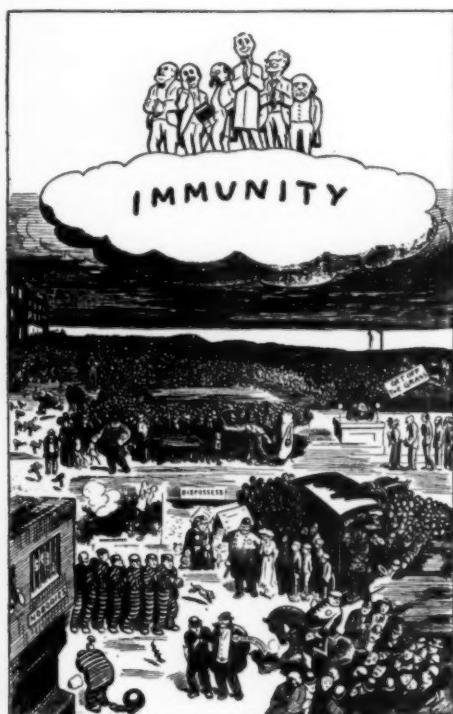
May, in the Detroit Journal.

THE NATIVE—"Bears or Delegates?"



Rogers, in Harper's Weekly, New York.

LITTLE NIPPON TRUSTS NOBLE ALLY
DID NOT HURT HIS HON-
ORABLE TOE.



Young, in Puck, New York.

ABOVE THE LAW.



Bartholomew, in Minneapolis Journal.

SKY HIGH.
The consumer finds that bread has now gone up to join milk
and butter among the heavenly bodies.

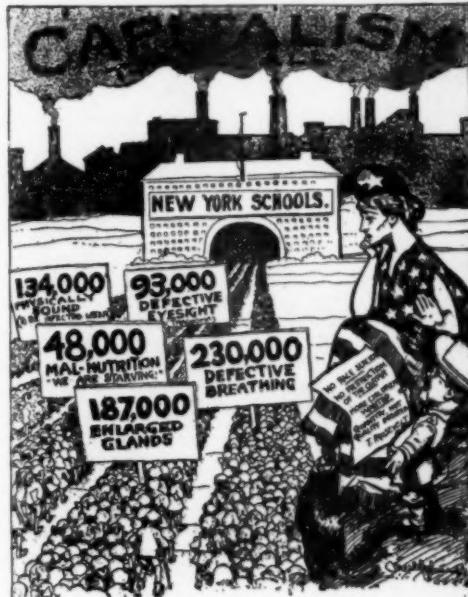


Nye in Watson's Jeffersonian Magazine, Atlanta, Ga.

Cartoonists working for corporation papers picture the farmer as the luckiest fellow in the world. The fact is there are 1,000,000 farmer families in this country who are never out of debt. The above cartoon is plain, unvarnished, brutal truth. The patient wife is the woman of all work—she is the cook, the nurse, the laundress, working from early sunrise till late into the night—never knowing what rest is, or means. By the time she is thirty-five years of age you see an old, wrinkled and worn-out woman, one more victim of special privilege and corporation greed. GORDON NYE



Sullivant, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst).



Johnson, in Wilshire's Magazine.

COLUMBIA (to persistent orator): "Cut it out, Theodore. That speech doesn't fit. But there is a text here for an appropriate sermon on undesirable citizens."

The Burlington report shows that 465,800 of 600,000 school children are physically defective. Of these 48,000 are suffering from mal-nutrition; 93,000 from defective eyesight; 187,000 from enlarged glands and 230,000 from defective breathing. Out of the 600,000, but 134,000 are as yet physically sound.—Daily Paper.



Wreeker in International Syndicate.

Mr. WALL STREET: "I wonder if that doctor will come every time I have a case of financial heart failure!"

THE EDITOR'S QUIET HOUR.

THE POET AS AN INTERPRETER OF LIFE'S PROFOUNDEST TRUTHS.

WE HAVE seen that the true poet is sometimes an interrogator and an interpreter of nature in her varying moods; and again, he is a revealer of life's profound truths, a philosopher in the presence of the master problems of the universe. In the last capacity, the poet becomes one of the most efficient influences that make for spiritual awakening and moral advance.

We are accustomed to regard the nineteenth century as peculiarly materialistic and utilitarian in its spirit; and yet the historian of the future, sufficiently removed from our age to be able to gauge things in their true proportion, will see that few centuries of the past have been so pregnant with moral idealism as the last hundred years, and certain it is that everywhere the true poets were voicing messages of deepest import to man and nations.

In our land Emerson, probably the greatest ethical philosopher America has given to the world, was nowhere so profound or meaningful as in his wonderful but little-understood poems; while in England Browning, from the very Himalayas of spiritual truth, was impressing lessons of gravest import. Even Bulwer Lytton, from the engrossing demands of his literary and political life, paused in the midst of a career marked by feverish activity and wonderful productivity long enough to hearken to the voice from the silence, after which he devoted much time during five years to weaving into verse his *King Arthur*, in many respects a wonderful poem—a creation whose master charm and chief value lie in its sheaf of spiritual lessons.

But perhaps it is on the Continent of Europe that we find the greatest poet-teacher and mystical philosopher of the century. Certainly in the creations of Richard Wagner we have capital ethical lessons presented in the clearest and most comprehensible manner of any of the mystics and philosophic poets of the nineteenth century.

Thus "The Flying Dutchman," "Tannhäuser," "Parsifal," and the great Ring

dramas are all instinct with spiritual truths that make for man's mastery of self through that interior development which, by bringing growth and happiness to the individual, makes him a radiator of life,—a spiritual dynamo that helps man and nation onward and upward toward the Land of the Heart's Desire, the realm of justice, liberty, and fraternity.

Where, for example, can we find in romance literature the master lesson of the redemptive power of unselfish love more vividly impressed than in "The Flying Dutchman" as interpreted in Wagner's opera based on Heine's poem? The old legend was originally a myth handed down from the infant days by the rugged children of the Northland, which, like all the great myths and legends of every people possessed by ideals, lived through untold generations because it impearled a vital truth.—lived awaiting the poet-prophet or interpreter who should breathe into the sleeping ideal the breath of life and transform, humanize and vivify the dimly perceived truths of those who in twilight days groped after the light. Later this ancient legend underwent a transformation during the wonderful hour of Europe's awakening from the sleep of the Dark Ages; when the New Learning and the Renaissance burst upon the brain and imagination of men; when art and science, invention and discovery, waved their magic wands and awakened Angelo, Titian, da Vinci, Correggio and Raphael; Savonarola, Erasmus, Colet, Luther, Calvin, Melancthon, and Zwingli; Gutenberg and Copernicus; Columbus, Vasco da Gama and Magellan. The age that gave to European civilization a new heaven and a new earth awakened not only the imagination of man, but the lust for gold, for conquest, and for personal power. The ocean became the highway of daring spirits. El Dorados and Golcondeas floated mirage-like before the bold rovers of the sea. The wealth of Mexico and Peru and the wonder tales of those who had reached the Indies by the water route,

excited the cupidity and selfish ambition of an army of masterful men drunk with lust for gold.

The awakened imagination of the poetic natures, the interpreters and minstrels who were also mystics, at this time seized on the old legend and the story became externalized, definite and personal, while still holding the kernel of truth of the older myth. Now we find a daring mariner who is under the spell of the hour, gold-crazed and intoxicated with the dream of power and personal gratification born of the possession of material wealth. He strives to double the Cape, beyond which he believes is to be found an El Dorado; but the storms are contrary. He is beaten back time and again, until at length he swears that he will double the Cape if it takes all eternity. Satan, who in the powerful imagination of the time was almost as powerful as God, hears the oath and condemns the reckless seaman to sail the main until the Judgment Day in a phantom craft whose blood-red sails and black masts should everywhere be the herald of doom to all the ill-fated vessels that came within its wake.

Such, in brief, is the legend which became a popular superstition in the morning years of Modern Times. But man is ever rising. The savage in his nature, though very tenacious, slowly gives place to the divine ideals impearled in the soul of every son of God; and as the centuries come and go these ideals unfold, and man's conceptions of Deity and justice take on nobler shapes. The angry Judge and avenging Jehovah give place to the All-Father, Whose name is Love. Hence the nineteenth century poets gave to the weird legend the human touch, and brought it more *en rapport* with our conceptions of eternal justice and infinite love. The ill-fated mariner still wanders the deep, but now a single star shines in what was hitherto the impenetrable darkness of despair. Every seven years, according to the newer version, he was permitted to land for one night, and if perchance during any of these brief respites he should find a woman who loved him enough to marry him, and who would be true to him until death, the curse should be lifted and he and his wife should enjoy eternal felicity in the home of love. If, however, she fails, both are to be forever lost.

Though thoroughly familiar with the ancient myth and old legend, Wagner took

as the basis of his opera the poet Heine's humanized legend, embodying in so positive a way the larger truths made visible by the advancing light of civilization and the upward march of man.

The opera opens with a supremely tragic picture,—that of a lost soul, a man possessed of fabulous wealth in gold, jewels, pearls and precious stones, but resting under an awful doom,—the messenger of death whenever he rides the waves, and only permitted to land one night in seven years. We see him now on land, entering the home of Senta, a maiden who embodies in supreme degree the divine feminine—the soul of selfless love. On the walls of her father's house hangs an ideal picture of the master of the phantom ship, and the fate of the doomed man has awakened a longing in her heart to help the helpless one,—a longing that has grown greater than her love of self. On the entrance of the ill-fated mariner, Senta instantly recognizes him as the lost soul, and gives him her love, bent on saving him from the awful doom, and not only him but the countless ill-starred seamen who without such salvation might be lost by coming in sight of the death-ship.

The two are wedded, but before the bridegroom sails, he discovers Senta earnestly engaged in conversation with her former lover, and thinking she repents her choice and may prove false to him—something that would involve her eternal damnation—he reveals his identity and, deaf to her protestations of love and fidelity, rushes aboard his ship, weighs anchor, and in the midst of a rising storm sails forth toward a high promontory that guards the harbor. Senta, remembering that the salvation of the mariner is dependent on the fidelity to death of his bride, rushes to the beetling cliff and hurls herself into the raging sea. Instantly the phantom ship vanishes, the storm subsides as by magic, and in the western sky, over the cliffs from whence the maiden threw herself, are seen the glorified spirits of the sea wanderer and Senta slowly ascending, wrapped in the glory of eternal dawn.

Here we have the damnation motif matched and overpowered by the salvation motif; night with all its appalling blackness lost in the glory of day. Here was man doomed to be lashed by the fury of the deep from land to land, and knowing full well that wherever the black mast and baleful red sails were borne, death, ruin and destruction followed

in their wake. On the other hand was a woman, in all the glory of opening maidenhood, rising to the divine heights where loss of self is joy, when that loss means the salvation of another. On the one hand, man, lost through presumptuous arrogance and a determination to gratify selfish whims and desires; on the other hand, the lost saved by woman as the embodiment of divine love.

Two central ideas are here embodied: the great truth that egoism so pronounced as to give dominance to the passion for material acquisition until it silences the voice of the soul, not only involves the downward impulsion of the individual but also causes him to be a blight or curse to all who come within the sphere of his influence; while over against this baleful egoism stands the genius of life, the altruistic, love-dominated spirit that gives, and freely gives, all for the salvation or eternal well-being of another or of others that love that impears the great central truth upon which the rise of man and of civilization depends in the contest for supremacy or dominion of the spiritual against the physical, of the light against the darkness, of the higher against the lower, of the divine against the animal. Love, ever rising and becoming more impersonal, more selfless, more sublimated, is the master moral lever that will lift humanity out of the quagmire of materialistic or sense domination, for this love is the lord of life, the eye of day, the breath of God.

The eternal war between materialism and idealism for mastership, the battle for supremacy of the spiritual against the sensuous, was a favorite theme with Wagner, because with his mystic insight he saw how fundamental and all-inclusive was the conflict. But lust for gold and passion for personal aggrandizement for selfish ends are by no means the only great springs of poison that exert an enthralling influence on the imagination of man. Indeed, the greatest influence, the very master spring of power in the sensuous world, is found in the passions, appetites and desires of the flesh. He who surrenders the higher to the lower by giving mastership to passion and sensual desires, profanes love and turns from the angel of life that purifies and glorifies and uplifts, to embrace an influence that entralls the soul, poisons in life its vital springs and implants the seeds of satiety, unrest, jealousy, hatred, bitterness and hopelessness in the heart. Every step

taken under the domination of sense perception leads away from the path of life, of happiness and the health of the real self, and must sooner or later be retraced amid sorrow and bitterness of soul, after he who has embraced the counterfeit for the real has partaken of the wormwood that must be drunk before the eyes of the wanderer are opened.

In "Tannhäuser" we see one of the most vividly contrasted pictures of the world of sense dominion and the realm of soul supremacy to be found in literature. Here, as that fine musical and dramatic critic, W. J. Henderson, well observes, "Wagner has set before us the struggle of the pure and the impure, the lusts and aspirations of man's nature. It is essentially the tragedy of man. Tannhäuser is typical of every man, beset on the one hand by the desire of the flesh which satiates and maddens, and courted on the other by the undying loveliness of chaste and holy love. If ever a sermon was preached as to the certainty with which the sins of the flesh will find a man out, it is preached in this tremendous tragedy, when the flame of old passion sears the face of new happiness and drives the errant out of paradise. Wagner, out of the old Tannhäuser myth, fashioned the tragedy of a man's soul. Every man must bow his head in reverence to the genius which thus made quick the battle of passion against purity for the possession of man's soul. Wagner wrote no mightier tragedy than this."

In the story of Tannhäuser as presented by Wagner, the hero of the tragedy is a famous minstrel of the Middle Ages who has won the love of one of the fairest and noblest German princesses. "In an evil hour" he came under the thralldom of sensual desire.

"A sudden madness seemed to strike his brain
And he had sought for refuge in the mount
Of Horselberg, and wandered to the depths,
Led captive in the lure of evil love."*

He was warmly welcomed by the northern Venus, who soon led him into a life of abandon. All thought of love in its true sense, all thought of honor and purity and manhood were drowned in one mad round of voluptuous revels, varied by the infinite resources of the goddess who sought to hold in thrall this last-found favorite. For one whole year he thus sunk his soul and stifled the call of

*See Mr. Oliver Huckel's rendition into English verse of Wagner's music-drama.

conscience. He had descended into the depths; he had been false to his higher self. At length, however, the time arrived when this prodigal, so far from the Father's house, came to himself. His soul bade him leave the basement of being and ascend to the plane of noble endeavor, to fling open the windows that look upward and Godward; but the spell of passion, when long indulged, is not easily broken. Venus here stands for the power of sensualism, and she has so anaesthetized the moral energies that they lack the power of execution or resolution to do that which is desired. A subtle spell rests over the soul.

The experience which must sooner or later come to every human soul that renders to sensual domination is thus vividly pictured:

"And now the life of sin palled on his heart.
O sad satiety of evil love,—
For sin can never satisfy the soul
Now had his better nature waked again,
And longed for earthly life and liberty,
For earthly life with mingled joy and pain."*

What more pathetic than the cry that comes from the heart of the prisoner of passion:

"O that I now might wake!"

"In dreams I seemed to hear the distant sounds
That have so long been strangers to my ears."†

Tannhäuser here represents the slave in the realm of sense perception who begins to awaken from the dream which has held his better self in thrall. He is sincere, but he has not yet been so morally aroused that the witchery of appetite can no longer throw a spell over his resolution. He has not broken the bars that hold the soul in the prison of sense domination. Thus Tannhäuser, though no longer happy, is held for a season after the illusion of the Venus world has become apparent to his homesick spirit,—homesick, that is the proper term, for the soul of man is never at home in the cellar of being. His spirit can only grow in a pure and exalted atmosphere, and Tannhäuser yearns for home. Venus in vain strives to detain him, resorting to her manifold wiles and seeking to cast a glamor over his senses which will make him forget that high estate from which

*See Mr. Huckle's English rendition of Wagner's music-drama.

†*Ibid.*

he came to be her companion and slave. She intoxicates him for a moment, only to find that his conscience is not wholly dead. He refuses to longer sleep, and in the midst of the under world of sensual abandon his resolution thus finds words:

"T is freedom I must win or die,—
For freedom I can all defy;
To strife or glory forth I go.
Come life or death,
No more in bondage will I sigh."

The moral nature has spoken. The animal is subservient to the soul so long as the soul keeps its purpose steadfast and its vision is riveted on a high ideal; but woe to it if after journeying forth it looks back and coquettes with the powers that have ensnared it. Venus, on hearing Tannhäuser thus declare his purpose, is no longer able to hold him, but she does not despair of his return. He has tarried with her over-long. He has fed that which was low, and dwarfed that which was high in his nature. He has rendered it possible for her witchery to linger in his imagination, a haunting, illusive, subtle spell.

When the spell is broken and Tannhäuser enters again into the real world of being, the gates of the house of life swing open before him. Love, pure, true love, welcomes him: but unhappily his soul has been drugged, his imagination poisoned by his long lingering in the world of sensual desire. Hence when his brother minstrels sing of love,—that pure, true love that refines, exalts and makes all who come under its magic noble, brave, true and fine of soul, he hears no echoing sound in his own heart. Only the gross passion of the Venus world, the world of self-desire and unbridled passion, floods his mind, and under the baleful spell he takes his harp and extols the Venus world from which he has ascended, to the horror of all present. Too late he comes to himself, and but for the love of Elizabeth, who stands as the opposite of Venus, the type of true love as the goddess of the under world of sense domination typifies the domain of sensual supremacy, Tannhäuser would have been exiled and lost. Even the church refuses to hear the penitent's cry. But love, pure, true love, is steadfast to the end. It will not abandon that which it has loved and which it feels may be saved; and so Elizabeth, in a different way from Senta, but none the less unselfishly, gives herself for Tannhäuser's redemption, and the realization of this greatest and most

wonderful thing in the realm of moral verities—the love that loses itself for the loved—awakens and emancipates the soul of Tannhäuser. Every bond that has bound him to the Venus world of sense perception is snapped. He too is saved.

As we have seen, "Tannhäuser" presents the world of sensual desire and the world of soul supremacy in bold antithesis. On the one hand is the acme of all that the Venus world can give, Tannhäuser being the favorite of the supreme goddess of the realm; and yet, with its powerful appeal to the physical eye, ear and passionnal nature, does it satisfy? No. A little time, and all it offers palls on sense and soul. Satiety, uneasiness and infinite longing seize upon the one to whom has been given all that the sensuous world can give. Now why is this? Because man is a spiritual being, and as such his cravings can only be satisfied by things that are real, abiding, pure, uplifting and free from the passion that degrades, the sting that slays. Now the world of sensual delight is nothing if not ephemeral. He who yields to its mastery chooses the counterfeit instead of the real, the tinsel in lieu of the gold, the fleeting instead of that which is perennial and rejuvenating. Hence Tannhäuser who has left, the highway of virtue, faith, honor, love—the real world of truth and idealism—and descended to the Venus world,—not as Parsifal into Klingsor's realm, to assail the power of evil, but to surrender to the sensual goddess,—though he gains all the realm can give, does it at a fearful cost, for every day spent in the dominion of sensual ideals leaves its impress on the soul life. He who gives way to the supremacy of animal desire enters a land where illusion becomes reality, where the deadly dream becomes the master of the soul, while that which is real, true, and abiding becomes more and more vague and intangible. The soul thus enthralled to sense perception necessarily builds on shifting sand. So long as the false dream remains the master, life remains not only empty of all great purpose, vapid and negative to all that is truly lofty and noble, but the thralldom becomes more and more complete. Such an

one is like a man who contracts the opium habit. The drug day by day gains its morally destructive hold on the mind of its victim, whose loss of will power is coincident with the obliteration of the moral sense,—the line of demarcation between right and wrong, honor and dishonor, love that purifies and exalts and unbridled passion that is dominated by sensual desire.

Now we see Tannhäuser a victim in the thrall of the Venus world. He soon feels that awful soul hunger, that profound restlessness, that nothing in the world of illusion or sense perception can meet. He must leave. The haunting memory of his high-born nature drives all peace from his soul. The breaking of the spell of sense perception is much, but it cannot prevent the reaping that comes from the sowing.

In "Parsifal" the sin of thoughtlessness brings its punishment, but Parsifal is aggressive for the right. He enters the world of sense seduction as a foe and not as a willing victim; and though its seductions dazzle and its supreme temptation well-nigh leads to ruin, his moral attitude saves him, and the fact that his heart is pure and his purpose is true renders powerless the weapon of righteousness in the hand of the evil one; while the moment he burns the bridge behind him, as it were, and makes the sign of the cross, which to the Christian civilization symbolizes renunciation of self for others or the placing of duty, a noble cause, or humanity above self-desire, the counterfeit world of evil shrinks, blights and becomes powerless before him, and in the end to him is given the supreme joy of bringing relief, health, peace and happiness to the afflicted, while his triumph exalts him to his rightful place as prince among the soul victors whose master purpose is loving service.

These are only little glimpses of a few of the vital ethical lessons in some of Wagner's great music-dramas, but they will help us to see how truly the mystical poet is a messenger of spiritual truth, a teacher of life's profoundest lessons.

D. C. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

THE VICTORY FOR POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN OKLAHOMA AND ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE.

Citizenship and Statesmanship That Reflect The Spirit of 1776.

NO PEOPLE in the great Republic have of late so conspicuously evinced the splendid spirit of 1776 as have the citizens of Oklahoma, and no group of statesmen sitting in council in recent decades have reflected the wisdom, courage and fidelity to the fundamental ideals of a democratic Republic, which marked the convention that framed and signed the Declaration of Independence as did the statesmen who framed the constitution of the new state. They were first of all loyal to the basic demands of free government and strove so to safeguard and conserve the interests of all the people that no privileged class or law-defying corporation or set of capitalists could levy extortion on a helpless people or unite to plunder the wealth-creators at will.

Changed Conditions Which Demand Additional Safeguards to Protect Popular Government From Class-Rule.

The revolution wrought by the discovery and utilization of steam and electricity not only transformed the civilized world, but they revolutionized industrial, economic and commercial conditions in such a way as to open the door to bands of daring, shrewd, unscrupulous and masterful men to seize upon natural resources that of right belonged to all the people, and to obtain special privileges, through the double possession of which the few were soon able to levy extortionate tribute on the many. As with the sword, battle-axe and spear—the weapons of physical force—the old feudal chiefs rose to power and became the masters of the many who sank to the ranks of retainers or serfs, under the new order, by special arguments, by cunning and often by deception, the shrewd, daring, avaricious and masterful few have become chiefs of the new commercial feudalism or the industrial autocracy; but in order to succeed they found it necessary to first propitiate the governing power and later, by

silent partnership, to control government in such a way as to make it representative not of the people but of the industrial autocracy.

In order to do this it became necessary to gain control of the machinery of government in such a stealthy manner that the people should not see that they had ceased to be the ruling or sovereign power and had sunk to the contemptible position of puppets in the hands of their exploiters. This was done by partnership with political bosses who for monetary considerations,—often for large campaign contributions that enabled the unscrupulous political boss to become the master of a state or city—were ready to make terms with the corporate or privileged interests that amounted to a betrayal of the people, and through these arrangements the corporate interests or privileged classes were able to obtain guarantees and pledges and later were also able to designate men who must be placed on tickets or appointed to positions of vantage after election. The boss sometimes, like Tweed and many of his successors, made personal enrichment a prime consideration. Others were chiefly concerned in their own political advancement and the increase in power which would make them the complete political masters of city and state, and perhaps arbiters in national politics. But usually considerations of both wealth and power have actuated the boss of the money-controlled machine. In all instances the alliance of privileged classes with the political boss has operated disastrously for representative government,—that is to say, for government which represents the interests of the people rather than the interests of small classes preying upon the people, and of ambitious individuals who are willing to prostitute government and betray the people for personal advancement, wealth or power.

The decline in truly representative government has kept pace with the advance in the power of the boss and the machine, guided and directed by the real master—the indus-

trial autocracy or feudalism of privileged wealth, until to-day we have come to the pass when men high in the councils of the nation oppose even giving the people the poor privilege of expressing their desires on important questions at the time when they select their representatives.

Happily, at last the American voter is beginning to awaken to the real peril of the present political situation. He begins to realize that he is the victim of trusts, monopolies and corporations that are robbing him at will,—a feudalism of privileged wealth quite as merciless and oppressive as that older feudalism based on force,—an industrial autocracy, arrogant and contemptuous of the rights of the people, because it knows it is ramified in government at almost every point.

The President's much-advertised campaign for the punishment of the great law-breakers has been answered by a steady increase in the price of almost every trust-controlled necessity. The feudalism of privileged wealth has no fear so long as the party of the President is in power; for its great chiefs and bosses have been its most subservient tools and complacent servants. The beef trust, during the pending legislation, had no more active worker in its behalf than Speaker Cannon. The railroad corporations and express companies have no more valued allies than Penrose of Pennsylvania, Platt and Depew of New York, Aldrich of Rhode Island, Lodge and Crane of Massachusetts, Elkins of West Virginia, Foraker of Ohio, and Fairbanks of Indiana.

More than this, the feudalism of privileged interests and the highly respectable high financiers know they can always rely on a strong contingent of loyal servants in the Democratic party. Men like Senator Bailey will reinforce the forces that are fighting to protect class-rule and corporation mastership of the people whenever their services are demanded.

Statesmen Whose Wisdom and Courage Matched Loyalty to The People's Interests.

Now the statesmen who were selected to frame the Oklahoma constitution, and the intelligent citizens of Oklahoma and Indian Territory, were not blind to the situation—the grave and ominous situation—that to-day

threatens the life of republican institutions while rendering possible the impoverishment of the millions for the unjust and inequitable enrichment of the few beneficiaries of the unholy alliance. They clearly recognized the fact that the present calls for special provisions to safeguard the vital principles which were promulgated by the fathers and which must ever differentiate a genuine republic from a class-ruled land. The day of the stage-coach and the mail-rider, which marked the period when the seven young states that fringed the Atlantic were slowly being welded into a compact republic, was an age of simplicity in life, of comparative equality in conditions, and was as unlike the present as the methods of locomotion and transmission of news of that time are unlike those of the age of steam and electricity in which we live. With the penetration of true statesmanship they realized the sinister character of the danger that confronts the American people. They knew that while the people slept the age-long enemy of social justice and equity, against which the fathers fought, had entered the Republic. Favored classes, feeding on monopoly rights and special privileges, had parasite-like fastened on the people's sustenance. They saw and understood from the political results of the past quarter of a century the menace of the union of the corporation and the political boss acting through the money-controlled machine.

One cannot see the brain acting when the hand moves, but he may judge of its purpose by what the hand does. So the action of the money-controlled machine, in every state where the bosses have gained mastery of the government, whether it be in Pennsylvania, Ohio, Massachusetts or Colorado, told the same story of public betrayal in the interests of privileged wealth. A misrepresentative government had usurped the throne of the once representative republican rule. The people were no longer the masters or sovereigns, but the slaves of the boss and the victims of the corporations that made the boss a power.

To remedy these abuses, fatal alike to free government and the prosperity of the millions; to break the bonds of this new oppression, ten thousand fold more odious than that of England under the Georges, the statesmen who framed the constitution of Oklahoma set to work with high and serious purpose.

Oregon's Inspiring Example Followed.

The Republican state of Oregon had with fine courage and a high-minded statesmanship led the way in restoring the government to the people and making their servants representatives of their will instead of the puppets of bosses and the tools of corporations at war against popular rights and interests. So in regard to Direct-Legislation Oklahoma followed the lead of Oregon.

Oklahoma Becomes The Virginia of The New Revolt Against Oppressive and Unrepublican Class-Rule.

But if Oregon is the Massachusetts of the new democratic republican revolt against the rule of irresponsible classes, Oklahoma aspired to be the Virginia of the new revolt, and she went boldly forward. Other abuses had arisen. The ancient bulwark of popular rights and liberty—trial by jury—always distasteful to despots and oppressors, was rapidly being nullified by the despotic aggression of judges selected by the industrial autocracy because of their having been faithful tools of corporate interests. The abuse of the injunction power, next to machine-rule and corporate interests, more than any one thing was threatening free government, and to meet this abuse the Oklahoma statesmen prepared effective popular safeguards. The lawless and law-defying corporations were considered, and measures framed to compel them to be as amenable to law as was the individual. In a word, these statesmen wrote a charter of rights for the people, admirably adapted to meet the imperative demands of free institutions and popular rights to-day. It was not strange, therefore, that every law-defying corporation, every kept editor beholden to these interests, every briber and bribe-taker, every grafter and all

seeking graft, as well as every corrupt boss and manager of money-controlled political machines, raised a cry against this constitution. The Declaration of Independence was no more distasteful to King George and the Tories than this new constitution was obnoxious to the enemies of free government, the criminal rich and the corrupt feudalism of privileged wealth. But the people saw in it the means of self-protection and measures that would render possible good, clean and effective government, and they determined to accept the constitution.

How The Modern Tories and Reactionaries Sought to Defeat The Democratic Republican Forces.

The reactionaries in their alarm looked for a faithful servant who might be able to defeat the popular demand. They hit upon the "great postponer," Secretary Taft, and he straightway journeyed to Oklahoma to tell the people to reject their constitution. But Oklahoma resented the impudent attempt of Washington authorities to meddle with her affairs, and by the tremendous vote of 100,000 majority she ratified the ideal constitution while electing the whole Democratic ticket by majorities of from 30,000 to 40,000.

The result of this election will encourage every friend of free institutions in America. It comes as the news of Lexington came to the patriots all along the Atlantic coast in 1775. Oklahoma has given the marching orders for the new democracy. Let there be no wavering. Let courage, a clear, definite program and an aggressive warfare for the restoration of a government of the people, by the people and for the people mark the course of all friends of free institutions from now on. The day for temporizing with privileged wealth and undemocratic reaction is past.

PROFESSOR LOWE'S LATEST INVENTIVE ACHIEVEMENT.**A Unique Discovery That Promises Great Things for The People.**

IN THE October ARENA George Wharton James contributed an interesting article dealing with the life of Professor Thaddeus S. C. Lowe and his remarkable discoveries and inventions. In this paper the author touched briefly on Professor Lowe's latest

discoveries and inventive triumphs, by which after refining crude petroleum and making the finest quality of illuminating gas, the residue of lamp-black and coal-tar is transmuted into a grade of coke equal to the best European product. Since this article was written, extensive and rigid tests have been made, the result being a complete demonstra-

tion of the truth of all the inventor claimed for his discoveries.

The immense potential value of this latest commercial and economic discovery will be apparent when it is remembered that coke produced from oil will serve to reduce the price of making the gas, so that gas can be employed for power in generating electricity, at a price that will enable the enormous benefits of electricity to be enjoyed by the people, whereas to-day they are enjoyed only by the few. More than this, it will enable gas to be used in numbers of ways in which it is impossible to use it at present on account of the price. Small towns and municipalities, by installing one of these plants, can generate sufficient gas for the use of the municipality, sufficient power for its electrical works, and can supply the gas and electricity at a price so reasonable as to bring it within the reach of many, and at the same time, by disposing of the coke, show a balance on the right side.

By Professor Lowe's method, as we understand it, low-grade and soft coal can be treated and turned into coke in much the same way that oil is treated. He has also perfected a process, as we shall presently see, for mineralizing wood or transmuting it into coke.

Coke From By-Products of Crude Oil.

The various Los Angeles papers have recently given extended descriptions of the experiments carried on during the month of August, and the Pasadena *Star* gave more than a page to the subject in a late issue. It thus shows the steps taken by the process, which it holds is destined to revolutionize commerce:

"The oil is run through a series of processes and a series of products are gained.

"Lighter oils, the product of refineries.

"Asphaltum, the product of a Lowe invention.

"Gas, the product of the Lowe gas generator.

"Tar and lamp-black, the by-products of the gas machines.

"Coke, metallurgical coke, the product of the Lowe retort for making 'Lowe Anthracite.'

"Not one ounce of the raw material is allowed to leave the plant save in the shape of marketable and valuable products."

The coke produced is superior to any made in America and is equaled to-day only by that produced in Norway and Sweden.

"Commerce," says the *Star*, "will demand the Lowe coke, because it will enable America to produce a steel such as only Norway and Sweden are producing at present."

The following interesting memorandum was made by a scientific writer for the *Star* after personally witnessing two days' experiments in the manufacture of coke from the by-products of gas—lamp-black and coal-tar:

"After operating the improved coke ovens during the past few days in the manufacture of coke from a poor, non-coking blacksmith coal, thereby establishing the heats in the ovens, a charge of mixed tar and lamp-black took the place of one of the charges of coke from coal and in nineteen hours was converted into a hard, solid, metallurgical coke.

"It was taken from the oven at 10.30 A.M. to-day and quenched in the usual way and presented a magnificent appearance, the transformation being more marked than when coal slack is converted into coke. Unusual interest has been exhibited among scientists and practical iron-workers as to the outcome of this new development as a basis for all kinds of metallurgical work on the Pacific coast, therefore as soon as the coke was sufficiently cool to be handled it was taken to a blacksmith shop and a strong blast applied and a white heat almost immediately produced.

"A round iron bar three-fourths of an inch in diameter was converted into a ring and thoroughly welded within the space of five minutes.

"Those present acquainted with these operations expressed great surprise at not only the short space of time taken to do the work, but at the extreme cleanliness of the heat itself, there being no ash, smoke, cinder nor sulphur and the amount of coke required was 25 per cent. less than when ordinary coke is used and 50 per cent. less in weight than when blacksmith's coal is used, thus proving that this coke, for blacksmith purposes aside from being more desirable for making the iron better, is, for this special purpose worth double the cost of the best blacksmith coal. . . .

"One gentleman present who closely watched the operations from the charging of the oil product into the ovens, to the use of the finished metallurgical coke, remarked that the tests made to-day should lead to the increased value of California oil products to more than \$100,000,000, and as much more

gain in value through the various industries that will be established in consequence of this magnificent invention."

Of the second day's experiments the writer above mentioned has this to say:

"As convincing as was the demonstration yesterday of the great utility of Professor Lowe's latest metallurgical invention, it was marvelously eclipsed to-day, when this same charge of coke was employed for foundry use, taking the place entirely of the best Connells-ville coke.

"It was charged into the cupola in the usual way and employing the same weight of Lowe coke as used of other kinds. The amount of fuel seemed very small to the foundrymen, owing to the density and less space occupied, but the usual program as to weights was carried out and the blast applied.

"In actually nine minutes after the tapping-hole was closed it was again opened and the large ladle of molten metal withdrawn and poured into the moulds. From this time on frequent tappings were made, each time the metal getting hotter and whiter, much to the surprise of every foundryman present.

"At the last end of the charge a large amount of very refractory scraps, iron and steel, was introduced into the cupola and almost immediately turned into liquid metal hotter than was ever before noticed.

"Professor Lowe and friends were present and waited until the bottom of the cupola was dropped, which showed that there was no unmelted material left but there was quite a large quantity of the oil coke still unconsumed. This was quenched, taken to a blacksmith forge, where it quickly reigned and served as best blacksmith fuel. Had this surplus been ordinary coke from coal it could not have been reused, but would have been consigned to the cinder pile.

"This being the first use as well as production of metallurgical coke from oil, the foundryman would have been well warranted in being skeptical, but his long acquaintance with Professor Lowe and his various inventions gave him the required confidence and extensive arrangements were made as usual for the usual cast. The quality of the metal also showed great improvement by the use of this pure uncontaminated fuel.

"All metallurgists know, that foundry coke must be of the very best quality, and as the iron in the cupola is heavier than the stock in a blast furnace, a more solid and harder coke

is required in order to carry the stock without crushing the coke.

"In this respect the Lowe oil coke excels all others.

"This most superior of all coke will cost far less than the lowest cost in any part of the East and will produce a metal equal to the very best Swedish and Norwegian iron and steel.

"It may be well to mention here that among other products that will far more than pay for all the crude oil from which this coke is produced, that of gas production is still more valuable, being the very best for illuminating purposes. The gas produced is superior to and will take the place of natural gas not only for open hearth, steel and other heating furnaces and for putting into form the products of the blast furnaces, but will also by the use of the monster modern gas engines, furnish the very cheapest and best power for any and all purposes.

"The blast furnace gases can also be employed in the huge engines of which the United States Steel Corporation is having made, by one establishment, a hundred and fifty thousand horse-power. These engines will be used for this very purpose. When the users of large power wake up to the advantages of this cheapest of all power they will not consider it worth the expense of keeping up long transmission lines of water power."

Another very important feature of Professor Lowe's invention is the fact that it is smokeless. All the elements are utilized and the smoke nuisance is entirely done away with. In noticing this fact and explaining how the by-products are all utilized, the *Star* says:

"A long battery of coke ovens, terminated at each end by high smoke-stacks, or rather draft stacks, for no smoke issued from them, formed the specially novel feature of the exhibit. Into these ovens the crude oil is injected in sprays and an intense heat soon dissociates the chemical elements it contains. The gases are then forced through the washer, which deposits the heavy carbons in the form of lamp-black—a valuable by-product—and then they pass through the scrubber, which eliminates a tarry substance, from which aniline dyes can be made.

"The gases are then carried through the condenser and the purifier, depriving them of all remaining impurities, and then into the

great holder, whence the pure illuminating gas is pumped under an even pressure into the mains and distributed through the city.

"The most important and striking feature of Professor Lowe's works is the manner in which he turns the two by-products—tar and lamp-black—into a most useful and valuable commercial product.

"These substances are mixed in certain proportions and conveyed by a tramway to the ovens, which are in a series and communicate with each other by a special arrangement of connecting flues, and then the mixture is subjected to an intense heat for twenty-four hours, when a charge of hard, firm, silvery metallurgical coke can be withdrawn.

"The result is a surprise to the oldest and most experienced furnacemen and metallurgists."

Professor Lowe's Process for Making Coke From Wood.

Another discovery that holds great potentiality for good to the race is found in Professor Lowe's process for mineralizing wood, or making from wood a fine grade of coke. In speaking of this the Pasadena *Star* observes:

"Professor Lowe has been able to manufacture coke from wood. He has experimented on eucalyptus wood and obtained coke of sufficient hardness to convince him that it will hold up the stock in a cupola and perform wonders in the blasting industry. He says a five hundred acre strip of land will keep the largest blast furnace in the world going, and produce by-products which will keep hundreds of automobiles chugging along the roads and furnish the market with many products for the kitchen. Cutting from one end of the strip to the other, allowing the first cut to grow up after the woodsman had stripped it the acreage would perpetuate the supply necessary to furnish fuel for the largest blast furnace, by Professor Lowe's process. Alcohol is extracted from the wood during the process.

"The twigs and limbs too small to convert into coke are chopped up and driven into a special heat generator to furnish heat to the coke ovens in which the trunk of the tree is converted into what a scientist recently termed 'mineralized wood,' the Lowe Wood Coke.

"The product is as hard as anthracite and black as the blackest coal. It can be made as cheap and shiploads could be shipped to the world ports from such wooded countries as France and the European charcoal countries.

"From other of the by-products, lye, potash and the finest soda for cooking may be manufactured. All the by-products together will more than pay the cost of manufacturing the coke and the fuel is practically free to the smelters.

"Wood thus reduced to coke will last seven times as long as the original wood in the stoves of the housewives. The amount of wood one burns in one week in the winter, Professor Lowe will compel to last him and produce the same heat per day, for seven weeks. The coke brings the heat to the point where heat is desired and for cooking purposes this concentration is a great saving.

"When hit a smart blow with a hard substance the coke manufactured through Professor Lowe's process from wood will ring clear as a bell. In handling the coke one does not get one's hands smutty as in handling charcoal."

It is impossible fully to conceive the potentiality for good which these discoveries and inventions hold for our people, if they can be utilized on an honest or honorable basis,—a basis free from stock-watering and the corrupt methods of Wall-street high finance. With the utilization of the by-products for reducing the cost of gas, there is no reason why this immensely important agent for heat, light and power should not be supplied to the people at a price that would largely revolutionize domestic economy and contribute immensely to the happiness of the people.

JUDGE POLLARD'S PLAN FOR THE TREATMENT OF DRUNKARDS EMBODIED IN ENGLISH LAW.

OUR READERS will call to mind an extended sketch which we published in *THE ARENA* for July, 1906, dealing with the remarkable success that attended the wise, humanitarian and truly statesmanlike plan of William Jefferson Pollard, a judge of St. Louis, in reforming and saving to the ranks of good citizenship the victims of drink who were not yet confirmed drunkards. This article was widely copied in Great Britain and Australasia. The greatest temperance organization in Great Britain made an abstract of the article and circulated it in leaflet form throughout the realm. The Independent Temperance Party also published leaflets containing extracts from this paper and quotations from leading American journals. As a result great general interest was awakened throughout England and Scotland, and when in the autumn of last year Judge Pollard visited England, he received invitations from all parts of the land to explain his plan and its practical workings, and before he left London to return to America, a committee of members of Parliament tendered him a reception at which many distinguished citizens of Great Britain were present. A memorial was presented to the Judge, expressing the appreciation which the temperance workers of England felt for his enlightened innovation.

The interest thus awakened steadily grew. English judges began to adopt the plan in a tentative way, with fine results. Later a bill was drafted and introduced into Parliament embodying in a slightly modified form the plan of Judge Pollard. The bill passed the House of Commons and on the twenty-second of August was accepted by the House of Lords and received the Royal assent, thus becoming a law.

Mr. Herbert Gladstone was one of the leading English statesmen who labored incessantly for the success of the measure. Another prominent Englishman who labored in its behalf was Walter East, Honorable Secretary of the National Independent Temperance Party. The latter sent Judge Pollard the following telegram on August 23d, after the bill had become a law:

"The probation bill containing your additional clause, based on your plan for reclamation of drunkards, finally passed the House of Lords and received the Royal assent yesterday. I am communicating to every newspaper in Great Britain this message of hope for drunkards. The Pollard plan is now in the statute law of Great Britain."

The enactment of this law affords another striking illustration of the far-reaching influence that frequently attends the earnest, high-minded action of an individual. When Judge Pollard, sitting in the police court of St. Louis witnessed day after day the misery attending the carrying out of the regulation punishment for drunkards, without wise discrimination, and decided to adopt an innovating plan for the purpose of giving early offenders an opportunity to reform, he not only saved to society scores and hundreds of weak and unfortunate first offenders who if sent to the workhouse for sixty days, there to mingle with hardened criminals and men far more degraded than themselves, would in most instances have drifted downward, but he also prevented scores of families from being evicted and becoming the victims of hunger and cold because the head of the family was in prison and their scanty means of sustenance had been taken from them. Furthermore, the good which thus seemed to be confined to one large city soon extended to other cities. Since the successful operation of Judge Pollard's plan, a judge in Chicago has adopted a similar plan, with results which he reports as highly satisfactory; while the temperance workers everywhere, seeing an opportunity to help in the reclamation of those who have started on the downward path, have aided in creating public sentiment that will ere long, we are confident, lead to the general adoption of the Pollard plan throughout America and Australasia, as it already has led to its adoption in Great Britain.

No man knows how far the light of his candle will shed its beams, if he lives truly, thinks truly, and strives to better the condition of his fellowmen.

MR. ROOSEVELT AND MUNICIPAL POLITICS.

A NUMBER of friends of President Roosevelt and others who have earnestly desired to be able to regard him as a high-minded statesman who places civic morality and the weal of city, state and nation before party or personal considerations, have been bitterly disappointed at his attempt to secure the defeat of Tom L. Johnson as Mayor of Cleveland, by writing a letter, to be used publicly by Congressman Burton, indicating that he regards it as "exceedingly desirable" that Mr. Burton should win the mayoralty election in Cleveland.

All citizens cognizant of affairs in Cleveland, who have proper regard for truth and honesty, must admit that Mr. Johnson's administration has been clean, honorable, honest and business-like. His great fight has been made to reduce street-car fare and render it possible for the city to control the street-car situation, instead of having the old order that prevailed under the palmy days of Hanna restored, in which the street-car and other public-service corporations controlled and corrupted the city government.

Mr. Burton is a prominent member of Congress and the President admits that he is needed in the House, but the great street-car corporations would give the ransom of a prince to defeat Mr. Johnson, and the Republican machine of Ohio is nothing if not the servant of the monopolies and public-service corporations of the state,—never more so, indeed, than since the notorious Boss Cox has come out for Secretary Taft for President.

It is greatly to be regretted that the President of the United States should meddle with municipal politics, especially when the battle is being waged between a high-minded and conspicuously competent mayor, well versed in the executive duties of a great municipality, and a corrupt order led by the President's choice, who is totally inexperienced in municipal affairs. The only excuse that could be made for the President's throwing his personal influence into a municipal campaign would be in a case where the people were making a life-and-death struggle to wrest

their city government from some notoriously corrupt ring that was debasing politics and robbing right and left,—a condition such as was presented in the tremendous battle which the Lincoln Republicans and better citizens made to overthrow the notoriously corrupt Boss Durham's ring in Philadelphia. It will be remembered that at that time the Lincoln Republicans, who were striving to wrest the city from the unspeakably rotten and dishonest ring, urgently pleaded with President Roosevelt for a message of encouragement in their battle for civic righteousness, good government and common honesty; for such a message would have been worth thousands of votes to them. Governor Folk appreciated the duty devolving on honest citizenship in such a crucial moment, and left the State of Missouri to go to Philadelphia and personally take part in the attempt to save the city from the thieves. But President Roosevelt refused to speak the word that would have meant so much for civic honor and clean government. We are told that it was not the intention of the President to meddle with municipal politics, so he did not notice the plea of the Lincoln Republicans. Yet when the corrupt street-railway ring, in a desperate attempt to overthrow the man who has done more for clean and honest municipal government in Ohio than any other Mayor, looks around for a person whose popularity might possibly enable them to wrest the city from the incorruptible executive chief and give it to the party of Boss Cox, President Roosevelt rushes to the support of the man who is fighting on the side of the street-railway ring and thus aligns himself on the side of corporation extortion and the old order that prevailed before Tom L. Johnson cleaned the Augean stables of Cleveland.

It is a pitiable spectacle which reflects anything but credit on the President, whose vocal strenuousness in the presence of corporation extortion and municipal corruption is as pleasant-sounding as his acts are disappointing.

POISONING THE WELLS.

THE ARENA has on several occasions called the attention of the American people to the systematic manner in which the industrial autocracy is poisoning the wells of public opinion and popular government. Never has the effect of this great moral crime against the social organism, which deadens the conscience of millions of people who desire to act justly and be true to their higher selves, been so apparent as of late, when educators of the Day and Buchtel type have made themselves so offensive to high-minded and conscience-guided men and women by their pitiful rôle of apologists and defenders of the criminal rich. Again, the moral damage which is being sustained by the religious world through the systematic poisoning of the churches by donations to missionary societies, religious institutions and church buildings, is just now painfully apparent.

In the tendency of ministers and religious papers to either ignore and slur over the amazing revelations of moral turpitude which the government's investigations have recently clearly established in relation to the systematic course of the Standard Oil Company since it has been under the mastership of John D. Rockefeller and his aides and associates, or to defend Mr. Rockefeller and others of the

great commercial brigands who have done more to demoralize our political and business ideals than all other influences combined, is seen the death-dealing results which we have time and again pointed out necessarily follow the accepting of money from persons whose business enterprises are known to have been marked by defiance and evasion of law, by oppression, extortion and corrupt practices.

Few things are more ominous or sinister than the gradual silencing of the pulpits and the religious press by the use of a small fraction of the money extorted from the American people by indirection. The loss which religion is sustaining from this partnership with criminal wealth is beyond computation, for it is lowering the church from her position of moral or spiritual leader in one of the most crucial periods in the history of the Republic,—a time when of all times the church should be the great aggressive exponent of even handed justice and the spirit of fraternity embodied in the Golden Rule.

In this issue of THE ARENA Mr. Ryan Walker, one of the most conscientious and effective of our popular cartoonists, contributes a fine original cartoon that should be carefully studied by all our readers. It shows at a glance one of the gravest evils of the hour in regard to which all the people should be warned.

PROMINENT UNREPUBLICAN ADVOCATES OF MISREPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

TWO REACTIONARY, unrepiblican professional politicians prominent in the councils of the party of special privilege have recently made a humiliating spectacle of themselves before the American public, in a pitiful attempt to deceive the people in regard to Direct-Legislation.

It is no more surprising to see Senator Lodge, long the absolute boss of Massachusetts, opposing permitting the people to direct their supposed representatives, or even allowing them the poor right of telling their representatives what they desire than it would have

been to find Boss Tweed of the old days, or the notorious bosses, Cox and Durham of the present time fighting the people. Senator Lodge has long been the autocrat of Massachusetts by virtue of his complete control of the state machine.

With Secretary Taft, however, the case is slightly different. He previously has not been a boss and the reason for his opposition is less obvious to the superficial observer who has read only the many pleasing platitudes that the voluble Secretary has been so generous in dealing out to the public. To those, how-

ever, who have followed Mr. Taft's political career, there is nothing surprising in his attitude. He would not to-day be the accepted candidate for the Presidency of the great Wall-street high financial organ, the *Financial Chronicle*, if his actions had not been thoroughly satisfactory to the plutocracy. The feudalism of privileged wealth is quite content for their friends to indulge in general denunciations of lawless privileged wealth, and pose as preëminent friends of the people, provided their acts are satisfactory to the industrial autoocracy in crucial moments or at any time when they regard the help of public servants to be of vital concern to the masters of the money-controlled political machines. Now Secretary Taft, from the time when he occupied the bench as Federal Judge and won the undying gratitude of the great railway corporations by his pernicious use, or rather abuse, of the injunction power and by his discovery that the Interstate Commerce Law could be used as a club against organized labor, to the present hour has found time, in spite of his almost perpetual junketing trips at the people's expense and his fair speeches, to do what lay in his power to further the dearest desires of the plutocracy in regard to vital issues.

Now the one thing which the corrupt bosses, the grafters, the law-defying and evading corporations, the bribe-takers and bribe-givers, and the various upholders of corrupt and misrepresentative government most dread is any provision that would make representative government truly representative. They oppose Direct-Legislation, not because it is impractical, but because it has proved so practical as to destroy the power of the corruptionist, the exploiter and the grafted by making the public servants the actual instead of merely the theoretical representatives of the people. Hence we find plutocracy's

faithful servant, Secretary Taft, opposing Direct-Legislation with Senator Lodge. The motive is clearly apparent. No man, we imagine, understands more clearly than the Massachusetts boss who is so loved by the corporations which the machine has served so faithfully, that with Direct-Legislation his power would depart from him, for that power is derived from the powerful privileged interests that prey upon the public. So long as he can control the machine as absolutely as he has of late years, the corporations that are fattening on the people have nothing to fear and Massachusetts will suffer from misrepresentative government.

Senator Lodge goes further than most reactionary statesmen have the hardihood to go. He opposes even giving the people the poor privilege of telling the legislators what they would like them to do. What a striking contrast is to-day presented between Massachusetts and Oregon! The latter is a commonwealth enjoying a truly representative government. Massachusetts is absolutely at the mercy of grasping corporations, because Boss Lodge absolutely controls the majority of the Legislature through his political machine, and the people are consequently shamefully misrepresented, while the boss brazenly tells them that they have no right to even express their desires on the ballot to those who are supposed to be their representatives in the Legislature. Could insolent contempt for popular government go farther?

But the day of reckoning is coming. The people are awakening and the corrupt political machines and the despotic bosses will be overthrown in spite of the vast wealth that has in recent years been so lavishly bestowed upon the machines to destroy representative government in the interests of privileged classes.

THE INTERNATIONAL RELIGIOUS CONGRESS.

ON SEPTEMBER 23d there assembled in Boston one of the most notable religious congresses that has convened since the World's Parliament of Religions met in Chicago during the World's Fair in that city.

The Congress has convened four times, in London, Amsterdam and Geneva, and during

the month of September, in Boston. The growth of the movement has been phenomenal and significant of the broadening spirit of the age. The recent convention was by far the greatest and the most notable of its gatherings. It is stated that six thousand delegates were present. While it is not a

Unitarian body, the ideal of Unitarianism summed up in the following well-known and concise epitome of that church's views doubtless comes nearer voicing the spirit of the Congress than any other declaration of faith:

"The Fatherhood of God;
"The Brotherhood of Man;
"The Leadership of Jesus;
"Salvation by Character;
"The Progress of Mankind onward and upward forever."

A preliminary gathering was held at Symphony Hall on Sunday evening, September 22d. An hour before the opening of the meeting all available standing-room was occupied, although Symphony Hall is one of the large auditoriums of the city. It is stated that between two and three thousand people were turned away from the hall for lack of room.

The veteran American poet and sturdy representative of the rugged New England spirit, Julia Ward Howe, although eighty-eight years of age, composed the following "Hymn of Praise," which was sung by the great assembly with a spirit and enthusiasm rarely evinced by a Boston audience:

"Hail! Mount of God! whereon with reverent feet
The messengers of many nations meet;
Diverse in feature, argument and creed,
One in their errand, brothers in their need.

"Not in unwisdom are the limits drawn
That give far lands opposing dusk and dawn;
One sun makes bright the all-pervading air;
One fostering spirit hovers everywhere.

"So with one breath may fervent souls aspire;
With one high purpose wait the answering fire;
Be this the prayer that other prayer controls;
That light divine may visit human souls.

"The worm that clothes the monarch spins no flaw;
The coral builder works by heavenly law;
Who would to conscience rear a temple pure
Must prove each stone and seal it, sound and sure.

"Upon one steadfast base of truth we stand,
Love lifts her sheltering walls on either hand;
Arched o'er our head is Hope's transcendent dome;
And in the Father's heart of hearts our home.

Another original hymn composed for this occasion was written by Rev. Frederick L. Hosmer and read as follows:

"O Pilgrim city by the sea,
In thee we meet on kindred ground—
Pilgrims toward better things to be,
By one high faith and purpose bound.

"The separating seas are crossed,
Each heart is understood of each;
On this our day of Pentecost
Fade out the lines of race and speech.

"One heritage alike we share,
Unspeakable and still more vast—
The widening thought, the hope, the prayer,
The nobler life of all the past.

"And one the goal to which we press
By toilsome paths as yet untrod—
Earth's longed-for reign of righteousness,
The shining city of our God.

"O thou through whom our fathers wrought,
From age to age our trust and stay,
Still keep us open to thy thought
And speed us on our pilgrim way."

Edward Everett Hale, the veteran Unitarian clergyman and chaplain of the United States Senate, was the principal speaker of the evening, and his plea for world-peace was received with thunderous applause.

At the Congress were representatives of four races and sixteen nations, and among the speakers were many distinguished exponents of the highest thought and noblest aspirations of the age.

THE POPE'S AMAZING ATTEMPT TO RECALL THE DARK AGES.

IF SEVEN years ago any leading Protestant thinker should have predicted that within ten years the Pope of Rome, speaking as the infallible head of a church numbering millions upon millions of votaries, would order the removal from professorships of great Catholic scholars in the church's educational institutions who accepted the evolutionary philosophy and the higher criticism,—would even forbid Catholics, priests or laity, to read

the master works of liberal Catholic thinkers, and should order a censorship to be established in every diocese, to pass upon published works which the clergy and the faithful might be permitted to read, that bold critic would have been promptly denounced by a large portion of the Catholic priesthood and clergy as an enemy of Catholicism who was striving to alarm the people by making them believe that any Pope in the twentieth century would

attempt to establish the old fourteenth century order of things. And yet that is precisely what has taken place. Hundreds of millions of people suddenly find that they can no longer read even the profound utterances of many of the greatest Catholic thinkers of the age. They must not use their God-given reason. A censorship must be placed on the literature. They can only read what this narrow-minded medieval priest, who happened to be elected to the Papal Chair and who now speaks as an infallible oracle, sees fit to let them read. Could there be a more startling illustration of the menace to civilization, progress and enlightenment of a church that persists in holding to a dogma which permits the judgment of one weak and narrow-visioned man to manacle the brains of millions of aspiring and truth-loving and seeking people?

It is not strange that the Pope's Encyclical has occasioned amazement throughout the more civilized countries of the world, or that the great secular and Protestant religious papers are outspoken in their wonderment. The Springfield *Republican*, after quoting the clauses relating to the removal of modernist professors and the establishment of the censorship, pertinently asks: "Is this the twentieth century or the fourteenth?"

Leading Italian organs are outspoken in their comments on this attempt to turn the dial hand backward. The great conservative journal, the *Giornale d'Italia*, says: "The Encyclical shows that the Vatican is incapable of keeping in harmony with modern civil society"; while another important Roman journal, the *Italia*, declares that, "it is the reconstruction of the Roman Inquisition."

One of the ablest reviews of the Encyclical that has appeared in America constitutes the editorial leader of the New York *Independent* for September 26th. It so admirably characterizes the sentiment of the best scholarship of the Protestant world, and in a large way the ideals of the profound liberal Catholic scholars who are now under the ban, that we quote from it at length. The *Independent* first points out that the Encyclical against Modernism "is the most important, the most ominous, event in the history of the Christian Church that has appeared since the declaration of the dogma of infallibility by the Vatican Council, and is likely to be even more important than that. A law like this, imposed on four hundred million souls, which absolutely forbids liberty of thought and research to the

teachers and scholars of the Church, is a matter of tremendous import. The weight of it is not in the fact that it condemns certain views, but that it forbids to the teachers of the Church the avenues through which any new truth must enter. So radical, so drastic a suppression of thought we could have hardly thought it possible to enact in this twentieth century.

"It forbids the clergy to read the books that teach what he calls Modernism. It strangles truth at its birth. It prohibits such doctrines to be taught in any Catholic seminary in which priests are taught, or to be read by any student. It does not allow the knowledge of the higher criticism to enter the seminaries, so as to come to the knowledge of the young men fitting for the priesthood. Any professors tainted with these doctrines are to be removed. A special and assigned set of studies is to be fixed at Rome for all the seminaries in the world. Modernism, which means particularly the Higher Criticism, is absolutely excluded. The bulk of the Protestant scholars hold and teach that Moses did not write the Pentateuch; the Pope has lately promulgated the teaching that there is no reason to believe he did not, and now, in no seminary or school or pulpit, and in no book or journal, can a Catholic scholar say that he did not write it. That this decree may be enforced the bishops are told that there must be a board of censors appointed in each diocese to see to it that no teaching of Modernism sees the light within their limits. Thus the eyes, ears and mouths of the clergy and laity are closed."

In reply to the question, whether or not it is at all probable that such prohibition can be effectual in the present state of enlightenment, the *Independent* holds that such is the sway of dogmas over the brain of the Catholic world that, amazing and incredible as it seems to free-thinking Protestants, such is the mental subserviency of the Church that in all probability the order will be generally obeyed. It observes that:

"The clergy have been instructed from youth that they must think just as far as they are told to think and no further. If by any accident they have come to think and learn otherwise, they are silenced. If they go farther than pleases their superiors they are removed from their posts as teachers and sent to work in the Philippines or elsewhere,

where they have no chance to teach or to study. If they resist, their means of livelihood is taken from them, and that is usually effective, for what else can a middle-aged studious priest do than to serve in his office? Has not Father Tyrrell, left penniless, now submitted, and had his faculties, his exequatur, if we might call it so, now restored to him by the Pope? Now he can eat a piece of bread. The whole machinery of the Church can be put to work to enforce the prohibitions, for not a bishop, not a Catholic journal, will dare to utter a word of doubt or criticism. Every one is obliged to approve; and when those who know are silenced, how should the great unthinking many suspect that a shocking, a fatal yoke had been put on the Church?"

Among the great scholars and men whose deep research and broad education have shown them the errors of much that in more ignorant ages was accepted as truth, the few who like Père Loisy are sufficiently well off to live without any return from the office of priest will probably be true to the eternal demands of truth and will continue, despite the order to darken the brain and draw the shades over the windows of the soul, to be loyal to the dictates of conscience; but for the most part the priesthood of Rome will, the *Independent* holds, be forced by economic needs to remain mute.

"Père Loisy," the *Independent* declares, "has sufficient property of his own, so he can, and will, declare that no Pope can strangle his free thought. He will dare excommunication. He is about to publish not only a new book on the Gospels, which will go further than anything he has published before, but he will very soon issue a study on the Syllabus."

He, however, will be the exception to the rule, and the able writer, continuing, shows what will be the popular attitude of the most able priests in the Church—an attitude that is admirably expressed by a scholarly priest whose utterances are given at length.

"Others," says the *Independent*, "will groan in silence, or utter themselves frankly only in confidence. How they feel may be judged from portions of a letter written by a scholarly Catholic priest in full canonical standing to a Protestant friend, a copy of which has been shown us, with liberty to publish. He says:

"I can thoroughly understand your astonishment that priests should submit to the

stringent code that now coerces us. I often wonder at it myself. But, with enlightened priests, this submission is not owing to vows and promises made in ardent and unthinking youth. We submit to a great deal in order, by remaining in good standing within the Church, to help the movement for reform and change. If only we may spread a little light, and open a few eyes to see it, we are willing to take the buffeting of ignorant despotism. And then, besides, our wonder that more priests do not revolt against disgraceful intellectual Caesarism is considerably modified when we discover how few priests are in the smallest degree aware of the results and tendencies of modern scholarship. I have been amazed at the ignorance of priests. Theology, in its old scholastic sense, they know. But with regard to criticism proper, in the field of Scripture on Christian origins, nine-tenths of them are in a state of baptismal innocence. I doubt whether out of the twelve or fourteen thousand priests in this country you could unearth more than a hundred whose libraries contain Harnack, Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, or even Loisy. You may be sure our seminaries are taking care that this state of affairs shall continue. Let the eyes of earnest and intelligent priests once be opened, however, and there will be on this side of the water an explosion that will shake Rome's seven hills.

"But as soon as our few leaders—so mournfully few!—come to the conclusion that the needed reform is more than Rome will ever allow, they will cease throwing away their lives, cease living beneath the heel of ignorant medievalism, and will step forth into the liberty of a free conscience and an unshackled mind. Some of us, I think, are wondering if that day of sorrowful duty is not close at hand.

"Really, the intellectual situation is very critical within the fold of Roman Catholicism. Pius X. has brought in an era of reactionary repression which is worse than anything of the kind in the memory of living men. What will be the outcome for the Church, and for many individual children of the Church is a question which we are now asking with anguish. The *via media* between tradition and modern learning which Tyrrell and Loisy have thrown open to us is totally rejected by authority; and if we enter upon the road, our traveling must be done by night, so to speak; for a priest who would confess himself a disciple of this school would be

summarily disgraced. If Loisy dies excommunicated I fear that not a few of his disciples will come to a similar end."

The Pope, the *Independent* holds, "is guided by the Jesuits." He is a good man, but not a wise Pope; "one who believes that, as of old, Juno may sit cross-legged before the door to forbid the birth of illegitimate truth."

While all friends of enlightenment, science and civilization which waits on the truth seeker, and those who appreciate the fact that the reason is a priceless gift of the Cre-

ator, to be used in the service of truth and human progress, must regret the stand taken by the Pope, the result in the long run must be disastrous to the power of the hierarchy that holds to the dogma that a narrow-visioned old man, elected after a bitter contest to the office of Pope, can in the capacity of head of the church arbitrarily forbid millions of souls the right of freedom of inquiry and individual search for the great spiritual truths of the universe.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

PUBLIC-OWNERSHIP NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the National Public-Ownership League.

Municipal Lighting in 1907.

IN TWO articles recently published in the *Municipal Journal and Engineer*, Mr. Ernest S. Bradford, of the University of Pennsylvania, reviews the growth of municipal lighting in this country and sets forth the present situation of the movement so well that we quote him at length. Quoting the figures given in the Central Station List for 1907 on electric-lighting plants he says:

"In the United States as a whole, there are 3,905 private lighting plants and 1,096 municipal electric-lighting stations, listed for March, 1907. The growth of the business and its present condition is shown by the following table. It does not include power companies which do not furnish light, not mill plants lighting only a local mill or factory, nor holding companies owning stock of lighting corporations. In the municipal column are included five plants operated by colleges or universities, and supplying light to outside consumers, and a few plants owned by cities and leased to companies for operation.

GROWTH IN UNITED STATES OF MUNICIPAL AND PRIVATE ELECTRIC-LIGHT PLANTS.

YEAR	Munic- ipal	Private	Total No.	Per cent. of Municipal Plants
1881	1	7	8
1885	16	151	167	9.5
1890	137	872	1,009	13.5
1895	386	1,690	2,076	18.5
1900	710	2,514	3,224	22.02
1902	815	2,805	3,620	22.5
1905 (Sept.)	988	3,076	4,064	24.3
1906 (March)	1,050	3,234	4,284	24.4
1907 (March)	1,096	3,305	4,401	24.9

"The percentage of large and small stations in the two lists is nearly the same. The following figures for 1906, which differ only slightly from those for 1907, show that 15 per cent. of the municipal plants, and 19 per cent. of the private plants are in villages of less than 1,000 population, while 77 per cent. of the municipal plants and 70 per cent. of the private plants are in places of 1,000 to 10,000.

PRIVATE AND MUNICIPAL PLANTS IN SMALL AND LARGE CITIES (1906).

	Munici- pal Plants	Per cent.	Private Plants	Per cent.
Villages of less than 1,000 population	160	15.4	592	19.3
Towns of from 1,000 to 10,000 population	808	77.6	2,160	70.1
Cities of over 10,000 population	73	7.0	328	10.6
Totals	1,041	100.0	3,080	100.0

"There were 73 cities in 1906 of over 10,000 population containing municipal electric-light stations, not including the City Destructor Plant in New York City. Some of the stations, however, were very small, as that in St. Louis, for example. Since 1906 a few more large cities have voted for municipal plants; but that private-ownership is the stronger in the large cities is apparent from the fact that 328, or more than four times as many cities of over 10,000, have private plants."

The above comparison is modified also by the fact that in the list of private plants it

sometimes occurs that a plant that is listed but once lights a number of towns while this is seldom true of municipal plants. On the other hand there are sometimes two or more private plants lighting the same city, each counting for one in the above table.

It is interesting to note the geography of the movement. The following table shows the distribution of municipal plants by states and the proportion in each state of municipal to private plants.

	Municipal Plants	Private Plants	Total Number	Percent of Municipal Plants
Alabama	19	28	47	40+
Arizona	0	16	16	
Arkansas	10	43	53	19-
California	13	116	129	10+
Colorado	3	59	62	5-
Connecticut	5	44	49	10+
Delaware	6	3	9	66+
District of Columbia	0	1	1	
Florida	11	25	36	30
Georgia	44	40	84	52+
Idaho	2	32	34	6+
Illinois	95	277	372	25+
Indiana	66	131	197	33+
Iowa	51	141	192	26+
Indian Territory	3	30	33	9+
Kansas	22	67	89	24+
Kentucky	14	63	77	18+
Louisiana	15	20	5	43+
Maine	3	64	67	4
Maryland	6	26	32	19-
Massachusetts	22	88	110	20
Michigan	101	134	235	43
Minnesota	88	62	150	58+
Mississippi	20	37	66	44
Missouri	55	88	143	38+
Montana	1	28	29	3+
Nebraska	17	61	78	22-
Nevada	0	8	8	
New Hampshire	3	46	49	6+
New Jersey	7	77	84	8+
New Mexico	0	13	13	
New York	41	257	298	14-
North Carolina	27	35	62	43+
North Dakota	7	21	28	25
Ohio	100	167	267	37+
Oklahoma	6	15	21	28+
Oregon	10	47	57	17+
Pennsylvania	38	261	299	13+
Rhode Island	1	10	11	9+
South Carolina	14	28	42	33+
South Dakota	7	28	35	20
Tennessee	26	38	64	40+
Texas	10	187	197	5+
Utah	6	20	26	23+
Vermont	12	41	53	22
Virginia	14	40	54	26+
Washington	10	61	71	14
West Virginia	6	41	47	14-
Wisconsin	50	120	170	30-
Wyoming	0	20	20	
Total in U. S.	1,096	3,305	4,401	24.9

Mr. Bradford arranges the states in four groups and shows that while in the Eastern and Western groups the proportion of municipal plants is less than 20 per cent. of the whole, in the Mississippi Valley group and

the Southern group it is from 20 to 40 per cent., and in Minnesota as high as 58 per cent. "One hundred cities in Michigan and one hundred in Ohio are trying municipal-ownership. We ought soon to be able to decide whether it is a success."

Between 1881 and 1902 according to the Census Report 13 plants changed from municipal to private-ownership and 170 from private to municipal-ownership. Since 1902 the figures are incomplete but there are ten or twelve reported to have given up municipal-ownership and over one hundred to have been municipalized during this period.

The Special Census Report on Central Electric Light and Power Stations gives the capitalization of the municipal plants at one-twentieth of that of the private plants while the output of the municipal plants, measured by selling price, is one-eleventh of that of the private plants. Mr. Bradford estimates that at the present time these ratios are about one-fifteenth and one-eighth, respectively. This means that a dollar of municipal capital is producing twice as much electric current as a dollar of private capital.

There are no complete figures for gas plants since 1900. At that time there were 877 gas to 3,620 electric stations in the country, the total aggregate cost and income of each of the two industries being, singularly enough, about the same. Of the 877 coal and water-gas plants in 1900 only 15 were municipal. In the short space of seven years there has been an increase of only about 8 per cent. in the total number of plants and an increase of 100 per cent. in the number of those that are municipally-owned.

INCREASE OF GAS PLANTS, 1850-1907 (Table 3).

	Total Plants	Municipal Plants
1850	30	0
1860	221	2
1870	390	4
1880	No report	7
1890	742	9
1900	877	15
1906	940	30
1907	947	30

In the following table Mr. Bradford shows the present distribution of gas plants by states, specifying acetylene and gasoline plants giving public-service, and the portion under municipal-ownership.

*In the Mirror of the Present.*SUMMARY OF GAS PLANTS BY STATES.
(Table 4)*

	COAL AND WATER- GAS**		ACETY- LENE		GASOLENE	
	Total	Munic.	Total	Munic.	Total	Munic.
Alabama	10	1	2	2		
Arizona	4					
Arkansas	5		1		1	
California	62	2	3			
Colorado	10		3			
Connecticut	22	1	6		1	
Dist. of Columbia	2					
Delaware	5		1			
Florida	11		5	5		
Georgia	12	2	3	2		
Idaho	2					
Illinois	58		3	1	8	3
Indiana	39		5	2		
Indian Territory	2					
Iowa	40		10	2	52	25
Kansas	7		8			
Kentucky	17	1				
Louisiana	2		1	1		
Maine	9		14			
Maryland	11		4			
Massachusetts	66	5	12			
Michigan	52	1	1		1	
Minnesota	18	4	6	3	18	15
Mississippi	8					
Missouri	24	1	4			
Montana	3					
Nebraska	11		23	1	13	6
Nevada	2					
New Hampshire	13		3			
New Jersey	43		1			
New Mexico	2					
New York	108	1	26	1	16	
North Carolina	11		6	2		
North Dakota	3					
Ohio	41	2	5			
Oklahoma	5		2			
Oregon	4					
Pennsylvania	91	1	9			
Rhode Island	6		1			
South Carolina	4					
South Dakota	6	2	5		3	2
Tennessee	8					
Texas	16		6		3	
Utah	2					
Vermont	10					
Virginia	11	5	9	1		
Washington	10		1			
West Virginia	6	1				
Wisconsin	32		2	1	14	10
Wyoming	1					
Totals	947	30	194	24	130	61

*Compiled from Brown's Directory of American Gas Companies, 1907.

**Includes a few oil-gas plants.

There are comparatively few municipal gas-works in the United States, only 30 out of 947 coal and water-gas plants, or 3 per cent., being so owned; while in the smaller places 25 out of 194 acetylene plants—about one-eighth—and 61 out of 130 gasolene gas-plants—nearly one-half—are operated by municipalities.

The same sections that have the most municipal electric lighting stations—the Middle West and the South—are the ones where municipal gas is being introduced, and here are the smaller places where gas-plants have never been introduced.

There is no disputing the very rapid growth

of the municipal-ownership movement in both gas and electric lighting, and it is doubtful that a subsidized press acting as a tool of a vicious campaign of misrepresentation and falsehood about this branch of civic activity can long keep these facts and their true significance from the knowledge of the people.

Brookings, South Dakota.

THE CITY of Brookings, South Dakota, has many municipal industries which according to "Taxpayer" of that town "are equal to, if not the best, of their kind in the state." The first municipal enterprise the city undertook was electric lighting, purchasing a plant for that purpose from a stock company which had had poor returns on the money invested. The city was bonded for \$5,000 for the purchase of the plant in 1899. In 1901 a water-works plant was installed by the city at a cost of nearly \$50,000, and \$8,000 also expended upon the electric light plant. In 1903 the telephone exchange was bought and enlarged by the city, which was bonded for \$31,500 to meet this additional expense. When the city had in a former administration, granted a franchise to a local corporation, it had provided that the city should have a right to buy the exchange within a certain length of time. The telephone exchange is on a paying basis and gives service to four hundred residence telephones, over eighty business telephones and is also the exchange for long-distance and rural lines, it getting a percentage of the business for making connections, furnishing assistance and the like. In 1903, also, the city established municipal heating and now many of the business blocks and the school buildings are heated from the central plant and as steam pressure had to be kept up during the day it was thought best to utilize the exhaust steam in this way from the power plant. At the present time the water-works system is being completed at an expense of \$20,000 and a complete sewer system being installed. Of this latter \$15,000 of the expense is being met by an issue of bonds and the remainder, \$75,000, is to be raised by direct taxation as provided by state law. The city allows the water-works fund a rental for each hydrant of \$75.00 per year. This more than covers the interest on the entire water-works plant; the city also allows the electric light fund \$8,000 per year for street lighting and this more than pays the

interest on its indebtedness. The electric light and water-works systems are more than self-sustaining by receiving the usual rentals. The sewerage system is cared for by the municipality as is customary. The heating system has not been developed far enough to predict its financial success but it has been giving great satisfaction to its users.

Grove City, Pennsylvania.

THE PEOPLE of Grove City, Mercer County, Pennsylvania, have voted to install a municipal electric light plant. The town has owned its own water-works plant for some time, and although the plant cost but \$25,000, it has been so successful and flourishing that there is a standing offer to sell the plant to private corporations for \$100,000. By analysis the water has been proved to be the best in the state, and costs the average family of seven persons but \$5 per year for an eight-room house, with bathroom, laundry, and hot and cold water in the kitchen. All streets in the town have water privileges and the borough has accumulated a sinking fund. The electric light plant can be installed for about half of the amount it would cost a corporation, as the power to operate it is ready, and also a building which can be utilized. The city council is not required to install the plant at once, but the probabilities are that it will be built in the early spring.

Electric Rates in Iowa.

AN INVESTIGATION of electric lighting rates in Iowa cities of from 2,000 to 5,000 population was made during 1906 by Hon. J. P. Minchen of Carroll, Iowa, and his report in *American Municipalities* brings out some vivid contrasts between rates charged by private and public plants.

In the city of Atlantic (population 4,890) a private company lights the streets with 15 arcs at a cost of \$72 per year each; while Webster City (population 4,797) owns its own plant and lights its streets with 15 arcs

under practically the same schedule at a cost of \$4 each, the expense being covered by the profits on light furnished to private consumers by the city's plant.

Funerals in Paris.

ON THE first of January, 1907, the municipality of Paris took upon itself the operation of its own funerals. Previous to this the disposal of the dead had been entrusted to a corporation under municipal control. The municipality deals directly with the undertakers, of which there are about forty in the city, who obtain from the municipal bureau coffins, bearers, transport wagons, carriages, pallbearers, and material for draping houses of mourning. The prices paid for these commodities are fixed by ordinance. There is a crematory where bodies may be cremated at from \$10 up, with \$6 fees, a two-dollar coffin and an earthenware jar for \$2.50. The city furnishes all these, and also sells a five-year grave for \$10. At the end of five years it is ready for a new tenant.

Dr. Herezeg's View.

DR. HEREZEG, special commissioner of the royal Hungarian Government, has been in this country several months investigating railroad methods. He has been quoted as saying: "There is both danger and injustice in giving over to any man, group of men or class the railways of any country." Naturally, he is an ardent advocate of government-ownership of all transportation facilities.

For Government Telegraphs.

THE EXECUTIVE BOARD of the American Federation of Labor, in session at Norfolk, Virginia, recently, created a fund to promulgate the idea of government-ownership of telegraph lines, and requested President Roosevelt and Congress to make investigations regarding the cost of buying up the telegraph lines for that purpose.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the National Federation for Peoples' Rule.

Santa Barbara, California.

A STRONG campaign has been made by the friends of direct-legislation in Santa Barbara for the adoption of the initiative and referendum and recall as an amendment to the city charter. The petition to secure the placing of this amendment upon the ballot for the election in December was signed by 25 per cent. more voters than necessary, and there is every reason to believe that Santa Barbara will follow the other progressive cities of California in ratifying the amendment, although the "push politicians" are making a strong opposition and the paper which is known to be the organ of the Republican city machine is making itself grotesque in its efforts to cast discredit upon the reform. A similar effort to amend the city charter was defeated a few years ago by this same political ring, but Southern California has seen direct-legislation at work since that time and the situation is consequently greatly changed in favor of the measure. The initiative and referendum are in operation now in Los Angeles, Pasadena, Riverside, San Diego, Long Beach, Santa Monica, Fresno, Vallejo, Alameda, Eureka, and Sacramento, and in all these except the last two the recall is in effect.

The Initiative on The Port of Columbia.

THE Supreme Court of Oregon has ruled that the act of the recent legislature creating the Port of Columbia as a municipal corporation was unconstitutional. The purpose of the act was to include the counties of Multnomah, Clatsop and Columbia in the Port to improve the towage and pilotage service on the lower Columbia River. The suit was friendly and merely formal. The dis-appointed citizens however have a way to get what they want. They can overcome the constitutional obstacle by having recourse to the initiative which is provided for in the Oregon Constitution in the following terms:

"The initiative and referendum powers reserved to the people by the constitution are

hereby further reserved to the legal voters of every municipality and district, as to all local, special and municipal legislation, of every character, in or for their respective municipalities and districts."

The initiative petition which will put the new act on the ballot will contain 1,800 names.

Oregon Referendum This Year.

THE Oregon Supreme Court has reversed the decision of the Circuit Court which had declared all of this year's referendum petitions invalid, and the referendums will be voted upon at the coming election. The measures in question are:

1. The University of Oregon bill, appropriating \$125,000 annually.
2. The compulsory pass bill.
3. The act giving the sheriff of Multnomah county custody and control of the prisoners in the jail.

The petitions demanding referendums on these bills were filed in May but were held up by injunctions sustained by the lower court. This decision of the Supreme Court is one more victory for the Oregon law.

U'Ren for Senator.

REPORT comes from Oregon that Mr. W. S. U'Ren, "father of the initiative and referendum" in that state, is a much talked of man in connection with the United States Senatorship. No better selection could possibly be made and every democratic Democrat as well as every democratic Republican in the country will rejoice in the event that Oregon does herself so great an honor. When interviewed on the subject Mr. U'Ren said:

"For the present I have other things to occupy my attention and to which I am devoting my spare time. There are three measures that failed of adoption by the last Legislature which I hope to see submitted to a vote of the people at the next election, and I am now working to get these ready. They are the corrupt practices act, the proportional representation amendment and the recall.

The corrupt practices act is to regulate the expenditure of money in political campaigns. The proportional representation measure provides for expression of first, second and third choices at elections, so that a minority party can secure representation in proportion to its numbers. The recall gives the people power to depose unfaithful public servants. When these three measures have been adopted I think it will be beyond the power of any man or set of men to build up a political machine.

"Of course I would like to go to the United States Senate from Oregon. I think I would enjoy working there with such men as La Follette. I have no doubt that Mr. Bourne and myself could work together in the Senate in harmony and for the best interests of the State.

"But whether I shall be a candidate at the next election remains to be determined."

The Chicago Charter Killed.

THE CITIZENS of Chicago have again spoken through the referendum on the right side in a great public issue. That perfect piece of plutocratic word-juggling known as the New Chicago City Charter, prepared by a ruling majority of traction ring henchmen, duly passed by a Republican legislature of the same sort of misrepresentatives, and praised to the skies by the Busse-Tribune crowd of school-land grabbers and "financiers" was buried by a majority of over 62,000. One of the chief purposes of these charter boomers was to stop or at least limit the use of the referendum which becomes more and more obnoxious to them and their purposes.

Oklahoma Constitution Ratified.

THE NEW Oklahoma Constitution with its splendid provisions for direct-legislation which has been detailed in previous issues of THE ARENA was ratified by an overwhelming vote of the people on September 17th. President Roosevelt's "butting in" and Secretary Taft's plutocratic opposition and semi-official threat against this feature of the constitution did not avail either to terrify the voters nor to befuddle them as to the nature of a truly representative government. It has been officially announced from Washington that President Roosevelt will sign the constitution.

Grand Rapids Power Franchise.

THE VOTERS of Grand Rapids have de-

manded a referendum on the franchise that was given to the Grand Rapids-Muskegon Power Company by the Common Council in July. Among the signers to the demand were many of the most prominent business men of the city.

Contest Over Wilmington's Law.

THE LIQUOR dealers of Wilmington, fearing the city will "go dry" at the next election, are attempting to establish the unconstitutionality of the law providing for the referendum on the liquor business.

An Oregon Tax Initiative.

THE OREGON Tax Reform Association, H. D. Wagnon, president, 603 Sixth street, Portland, Oregon, asks advice from all sources as to which of the following questions to submit to popular initiative at the next State election: (1) Local option in taxation; (2) exemption from taxation of manufacturing plants; (3) exemption from taxation of household furniture and all improvements upon residence and farm property.

New York Towns Voting.

IN SPECIAL elections held Monday afternoon in Fishkill Landing and Matteawan the proposition to combine the two villages was defeated. In Fishkill Landing there was a majority of 84 against uniting. Matteawan gave a majority of 14 in favor of consolidating. For the proposition to become effective it was necessary that both villages vote in favor of it. Women were not permitted to vote.

Suffragists on The Right Track.

"MEMBERS of the State Equal Suffrage Association, assembled in convocation, decided to-day not to urge the insertion of an equal suffrage clause in the new constitution, but to endeavor to secure a clause providing for the initiative and referendum. The association will maintain a lobby at the 'con-con' to work to that end.

"If we secure the insertion of such a clause," said one suffragist to-day, "we will have taken a long step in the right direction."

"It was announced to-day that Rev. Anna Shaw of Boston will address the constitutional convention speaking in favor of the initiative and referendum."—From the Battle Creek, Michigan, *Enquirer*, September 21, 1907.

Ohio Grangers.

At Orewell, Ohio, September 19th the County Grange held a big meeting at which by a unanimous standing vote it passed a resolution endorsing the Initiative and Referendum for governmental affairs and requested representatives of the distict in the Legislature to vote for it. A committee was appointed to present the resolution to the state senators and representatives.

Direct-Legislation Speakers.

PUBLIC speakers for the initiative and referendum are requested to send in their names and addresses, for publication. In eastern Pennsylvania Professor J. W. Riddle, Jr., of the Political Science Department of Ursinus College, Collegeville, an experienced platform speaker, can be secured.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION NEWS.

BY ROBERT TYSON,

Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League.

Oregon.

THE IMPORTANT news comes from Oregon that an initiative petition has been prepared and will be launched this autumn, providing for Proportional Representation in all legislative and municipal elections throughout the state, including the primaries, also for preferential voting on the absolute majority plan for the election of all single officers, primaries included.

It was thought that the system chosen ought to provide for a uniform method of voting both for single officers, such as governor, and for representatives, such as members of the legislature. A very simple system was also desired. These requirements are met by the Gove plan, which accordingly has been chosen as the one to be submitted to the people. It is provided for in a schedule. The amendment proper provides only for the principle of proportional and preferential voting.

Briefly put, the provisions of the schedule are as follows:

Within three days after nomination each candidate may file a list of not more than two other candidates to whom he requests that any votes be transferred from him which cannot be used for his own election. These two candidates may be put second and third in order of preference, or as equal second choices, in which latter case the one having himself the larger number of votes is preferred. The list of each candidate is printed on the ballot along with his own name in the space allotted to him.

Each elector has one vote only.

In single officer elections, the votes for each candidate are first counted. If no candidate has a majority on first count, the lowest candidates are successively eliminated, and their votes transferred according to their lists, until some one gets a majority.

In other elections a "quota" is got in the simplest way: that is, dividing the number of votes by the number of seats to be filled. The surplus of any candidate above a quota is transferred according to his list. Then the lowest candidates are successively eliminated and all their votes similarly transferred, until there remain only enough candidates to fill the seats.

Following the schedule is a statement of facts and reasons for the adoption of proportional and preferential voting, concluding with two illustrations of the working of the new methods.

Great Britain.

THE Proportional Representation Society has printed in pamphlet form Lord Courtney's speech in the House of Lords when introducing the bill giving municipalities the option of using Proportional Representation in their elections.

MR. Keir Hardie, the popular labor leader, is a member of the Proportional Representation Society.

THE Metropolitan Counties Branch of the British Medical Association has adopted the Hare system for the election of its four vice-presidents and six delegates to the Council, and the system was used for the first time

recently with full success. About eight hundred members voted.

A BLUE BOOK of 144 pages has been issued by Parliament, the title of which is: "Reports from His Majesty's Representatives in Foreign Countries and in British Colonies respecting the application of the principle of Proportional Representation to Public Elections." These Reports were sent by British legations in response to a circular letter from Earl Grey, and contain much valuable and authentic data. The Secretary of the American Proportional Representation League (10 Harbord street, Toronto) has spare copies.

Australia.

MISS SPENCE writes:

"I am getting inquiries for Proportional Representation literature from West Australia. A journal there, the *West Australian*, is strongly advocating effective voting, and both by editorials and correspondence is keeping the Proportional Representation question before the public. The *West Australian* is edited by a man who was in the office of the Adelaide *Advertiser*, with Mr. Young, and he got well indoctrinated in the paramount importance of electoral reform.

"I was asked for literature for a lecture and test election at a township in the district of Stanley, 166 miles north of Adelaide. The former member of parliament, a good Proportionalist, died recently, and the by-election resulted in the election of Kenneth W. Duncan, who is also a good Proportionalist, and a liberal like his predecessor.

"The labor party has been so successful lately that Proportional Representation is not very popular with them. They seem to think that the bridge that carries them triumphantly over must be an excellent bridge. Proportional Representation was always an open question with all our political parties, but the conservatives are more disposed to favor it now than they were."

Finland, Sweden, Holland.

THE LITTLE state of Finland has passed through a general election, based, however, upon a system of Proportional Representation, with the result not merely that every party has received neither more nor less than

its due share of parliamentary influence, but that the bitterness of political strife has been attenuated and its sincerity increased. As our Helsingfors correspondent pointed out in an article some weeks ago, under the old system of single-member constituencies the Finnish Parliament would have been given up to a barren war of nationalities instead of to the fruitful work of social reform.

THERE is every probability that Sweden and Holland will soon follow in the footsteps of Finland, Belgium and Switzerland. The Swedish Parliament is already engaged in considering a comprehensive measure which includes provisions for Proportional Representation, while in Holland—which this year has been passing through a constitutional crisis owing to the unrepresentative character of its upper house—an electoral commission has reported in favor of a like reform.

Four Election Reforms.

His Honor, Judge Ruppenthal, of Russell, Kansas, a member of the American Proportional Representation League, is the author of an article entitled *Election Reforms: The Trend Toward Democracy*. It was first delivered as a paper before the Kansas Bar Association before Mr. Ruppenthal's elevation to the bench.

The author refers to four recent lines of advance in election reforms:

1. Securing the voter against fraud and intimidation;
2. Extension of the franchise;
3. The Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, and direct primary nominations;
4. Proportional Representation. The third of these subjects, itself in three subdivisions, occupies most space.

In Illinois cumulative voting is in use now for the election of members of the House of Representatives of the state, and has been since 1870, three-member districts being used.

Preferential voting for the election of single officers is also referred to. The last foot-note in the book gives a striking instance of the need for this reform, together with some equally convincing figures showing the unproportional results of elections in Kansas since 1890.

ROBERT TYSON.

Toronto, Can.

COÖPERATIVE NEWS.

BY RALPH ALBERTSON,
Secretary of the Coöperative Association of America

Italian Co-operation in Missouri.

IN THE outskirts of St. Louis there is a settlement of Italians from Northern Italy who have a coöperative provision store, shoe store, a club, an insurance company, and a band. The grocery store, which has the ponderous title of the North Italian American Coöperative Store, was organized nearly eleven years ago by Cesar Oldani, who persuaded about 200 of his fellow-countrymen to organize the store company, each paying in a fee of \$3, and with the resulting \$600 they opened the coöperative store. The members, of which there are at present 950, buy on credit but are required to settle their accounts twice a month. They elect their own officers and store manager, have a sick benefit, and share in the dividends, which amount yearly to \$12 or \$15 a family. From the beginning the store has been a great success and the average business is about \$11,000 a month. Thirteen clerks and a manager, all of whom are share-holders, are kept busy from early morning until late at night. The prices of meats and vegetables are much lower than the average prevailing prices, and in speaking of the business integrity of the store a representative of a St. Louis grocery supply house said: "I always know that I am going to do a big business when I come to the coöperative store. They pay the house the day required and never in any way cause trouble. From my point-of-view it is a model establishment."

The success of the grocery store inspired the Italians to further efforts, and but a short time after the organization of the store the Coöperative Club was formed, composed of a saloon and dancing hall. A shoe store was added, and also the insurance company, which has a sick benefit, and in the case of the death of husband or father \$500 is given to the family. The coöperative band, which is known as the North Italian America Band, is an organization of twenty-six instruments. It gives free concerts Saturday nights and Sunday afternoons, and makes

many trips to small towns around St. Louis. The band is supported by the colony.

Only the natives from Northern Italy subscribe to the coöperative store. Others can buy at the store and at the same price, but are required to pay cash.

The N. O. Nelson Company Plans a New Coöperative Town.

THE N. O. Nelson Manufacturing Company of St. Louis is planning to build a second city for the use of its employés, the other city at LeClaire being well known to interested coöperators. The venture is to be made in the suburbs of St. Louis, where the company has purchased a tract of twenty-three acres of residence property, just west of the beautiful Delmas Garden. No factory is to be built on the new site, nor will one be allowed on the grounds, as this city is to be exclusively for residences. Houses to accommodate the mechanics and workmen of ordinary means will be built and sold on the monthly installment plan, with practically no interest. There is room on the tract for about 100 homes, each on a lot with a frontage of 50 feet. All lots are to be sold to the employés, based on the price of \$600 per acre, which was the price paid for the tract by the Nelson Company; and this price, with the actual cost of the construction of the houses, is all that the purchasers will be required to pay.

Producers' and Consumers' International Equity Union and Coöperative Exchange.

AN ORGANIZATION known as the Producers' and Consumers' International Equity Union and Coöperative Exchange has been effected in Chicago, the purpose of which is to form a large central association with which the various other coöperative farmers' associations will affiliate. The Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union, with 2,000,000 members, the American Society of Equity, with 300,000, and the Granges, with 700,000 members, are expected to coöperate with the

new company. It is incorporated under the laws of New Jersey, with a capital stock of \$1,000,000, in shares of \$1 each. Rev. John F. Tuohy of St. Louis, who is connected with the American Society of Equity, is secretary of the Union and holds 1,900 shares. The president is George W. Wickline of St. Louis; the vice-president and organizer, John Mulholland of Indianapolis; and the treasurer is Thomas Emmerton of Wisconsin. The Union aims to coöperate with the American Federation of Labor and subordinate unions and to provide representation in city, state, national and international orders of organized workmen.

Co-operative Insurance in Minnesota.

THE Thirty-Sixth Annual Report of the Minnesota Insurance Commissioner bears witness to the great growth made by township mutual insurance companies since 1878 when the amount of insurance in force was \$923,678, with an average cost per \$100 of fourteen cents, as against a total amount of \$199,979,610 insurance in force in 1906, and a cost per \$100 of seventeen cents. There are 145 of these companies in the state, insuring a property valuation of more than \$200,000,000. The figures showing the cost of insurance in mutual companies as compared with the cost in the joint companies are exceedingly interesting, the rate in the mutuals being 24 cents per \$100 and the rate in the other companies being \$1 for each \$100.

Co-operation Between Farmers and Labor Unions.

THE PLAN advocated by the Farmers' Educational and Coöperative Union of America and the American Society of Equity, for industrial coöperation between the farmers and the labor union men, is finding its way into the Eastern states. The farmers in the vicinity of Newburgh, Orange county, New York, have organized themselves into an association called the Orange County Union, and their purpose is to sell direct to the consumers and thus eliminate the middleman. In order to secure the coöperation of the labor interests the farmers have asked to join the Central Labor Union. The union men of Newburgh are enthusiastic over the project, but are not a little perplexed as to the proper way of labeling the products of the farmers' organization.

News Notes.

A PEOPLE'S COÖPERATIVE BREWING ASSOCIATION has been organized at New Orleans, Louisiana, with a capital stock of \$100,000, divided into 20,000 shares of \$5 each. No subscriber may take more than two shares.

THE POPULARITY of coöperative apartment houses seems to be constantly increasing. Several new buildings have been erected on the west side of New York, which are to rent for about \$2,500 per year on an average. The houses are said to rival in architecture, comfort and finish anything of similar style produced for the same amount of money.

A NUMBER of educators, newspaper men and business men recently met in Nashville, Tennessee, and organized the Coöperative Educational Association for the purpose of arousing public sentiment in favor of better schools and in generally promoting the educational interests of Tennessee. The Association has formally asked all the county superintendents and boards of education throughout Tennessee to aid in organizing a branch of the Coöperative Association in every county in the state.

A MUTUAL insurance benefit association has been formed in Washington, District of Columbia, in the interests of the government employés, which is known as the Employés Relief and Coöperative Association. A membership of 3,000 is enrolled. A novel feature of the organization is the bonding of the officers in sums varying from \$10,000 to \$50,000.

A CO-OPERATIVE bank and trust company has been organized at Guthrie, Oklahoma, membership in which is limited to farmers' coöperative societies and labor unions. It has been chartered with a capital subscribed of \$200,000 and its managers claim that it will conduct the business of 100,000 farmers. It is expected that by distributing all the earnings it will noticeably lessen the interest rates to the stockholders.

The Republic Belting and Supply Company of Cleveland, Ohio, has recently instituted a coöperative and profit-sharing plan, by which the employés are given the opportunity to subscribe to the company's preferred stock at the rate of \$1 per month, and in addition an annual bonus is paid to employés based on the wages paid and number of years employed.

AT NO. 444 West 23d street, New York City, is a house known as the Coöperato for working girls earning salaries under eight dollars. The girls contribute half their wages to the house, for room and board, and in addition assist coöperatively in the work. The Coöperato was started fourteen years ago, with four girls, the largest of whose salaries was four dollars, and at present it accommodates forty persons.

A NEW company to be operated in behalf of the striking miners of the iron range has been organized in Duluth, Minnesota. It is to be known as the National Coöperative Mercantile Company and has an authorized capital of \$100,000.

THE Farmers' Coöperative and Educational Union in convention in Arkansas fixed the prices to be paid for their cotton and grain. It is an encouraging sign of progress when farmers learn that by coöperation they may demand their own price, and then do so.

THERE is a Retail Merchants' Association in York, Pennsylvania, that is employing a system of coöperatively shipping small packages and thus evading excessive charges by the express companies upon small individual packages.

THE Brooklyn Central Labor Union is intending to follow out the plan of the American Society of Equity in bringing farmers and fishermen in direct touch with its members, and so bringing the products to the consumer with as little cost of transaction as possible. This plan is coming to be more and more generally adopted throughout the United States, chiefly in the vicinity of Chicago. The promoters of the plan in the Central Labor Union are very desirous of extending it further and instituting coöperative garment workers' shops, shoe shops, carpentering and paint shops under the auspices of the Central Labor Union.

THE Boston Coöperative Building Association is managing several tenements in one of the poorer sections of Boston, on Harrison avenue. These dwellings have inner courts of trees and grass and a few shrubs, and are so arranged as to give the greatest possible

amount of fresh air, so welcome to the inhabitants of the more crowded sections of the city. The buildings are most carefully cared for and are kept in a clean and wholesome condition.

A UNIQUE venture into the field of coöperation is being made in Chicago, where a coöperative theater has been opened at Twenty-second and Troy streets, by the Actors' Union for the benefit of stranded players, the number of which in Chicago is said to be four thousand. The enterprise is such a great success that the Union is planning to engage more halls and establish a circuit of coöperative playhouses in the city.

THE Coöperative Boot and Shoe Company of Brockton, Massachusetts, is doing a very enterprising business. Their factory is crowded in every department with fall orders, and the output is taxed to its fullest capacity.

THE MEMBERSHIP of the Coöperative Guild of Washington, District of Columbia, still continues to increase, and the plan is meeting with marked success. One of the pleasing results thus far reported is the reduction in the price of coal from the prevailing rate by local dealers who have put in bids to supply the members of the Guild with their winter's supply. The only paid officer of the association is its auditor, who receives compensation only for the time spent attending to the accounts. The profits are shared *pro rata*.

THE MEMBERS of the local cigarmakers' union of Albany, New York, are planning to start a coöperative cigar factory. The men have been on strike for several months, and no settlement is apparent. The secretary of the Union states that there are twenty or more men in the Union who are ready to combine their capital in starting a factory.

A CO-OPERATIVE savings and loan association has been organized in Trenton, New Jersey, at the suggestion of the Trenton Board of Trade. The fifty-five shares were taken at the first meeting. The association is intended to be particularly helpful in providing for coöperative home building for persons of moderate means.

RALPH ALBERTSON.

MARK TWAIN'S ATTACK ON CHRISTIAN SCIENCE.*

A BOOK STUDY.

BY B. O. FLOWER.

PART I.

MARK TWAIN is preëminent among the living humorous writers. No mirth-provoking author has contributed so much to the genuine pleasure of the reading public as the author of *Innocents Abroad*, *Tom Sawyer*, *Huckleberry Finn*, and *A Connecticut Yankee at the Court of King Arthur*. He has also enriched our literature not a little—with serious contributions, chief among which is his really fine work on *Joan of Arc*.

But in the realm of serious literature he has labored under a double handicap. I remember, a number of years ago, after Mark Twain had written some serious essays on automatic writing or telepathy, subjects which at that time engrossed his attention, I was discussing some favorite authors with a well-known young writer, and he remarked that the unrivaled humorist felt keenly the fact that the reading-public was loath to take him seriously. The great majority of readers had become so accustomed to look for humor and satire in anything that came from his pen that they refused to take him seriously when he was in earnest. This is a penalty all humorists have to pay if they step beyond the field in which they have made their reputation. The people, accustomed to look for the ridiculous, mistake the gravity of the author for an assumption of seriousness, or veiled satire, or they turn from him as unprofitable, for they are not willing to regard their witty or humorous favorite as an oracle.

To this drawback must be added a fault on the author's part that impairs his work with deeply thoughtful, conscientious and discriminating readers when he attempts serious writing, and especially when he assumes the rôle of a critic. From long indulgence in exaggeration, hyperbole and a certain reckless handling of words for

surprising or picturesque and amusing effects, our author has, perhaps naturally enough, contracted a pernicious habit that manifests itself in license or intemperance in expression, that when employed in other than humorous compositions is to say the least extremely unfortunate. His sense of moral proportion at times seems seriously impaired. He often lapses into exaggeration and hyperbole that though picturesque in effect does grave injustice to earnest, high-minded men and women or to the subject with which he is concerned. In other words, he carries into his serious or critical writing some of the most striking characteristics of his humorous composition.

Professor William L. Phelps of Yale College, in a recent exceedingly laudatory article on Mark Twain in the *North American Review*, points out leading characteristics of his subject's writings, among which are the following:

"The essence of Mark Twain's humor is incongruity. . . . Exaggeration—deliberate enormous hyperbole—is another feature. . . . He is doubtless sometimes flat, sometimes coarse."

It is perhaps not strange, but it is regrettable, that all these faults, inadmissible in a serious critical work, should be glaringly present in Mark Twain's latest work, in which he discusses Christian Science. This tendency to intellectual lawlessness, though not particularly objectionable in fiction, written simply to amuse—impersonal matter not concerned with actual persons or with any weighty theme—becomes little less than morally criminal when the subject of attack is a venerable woman through whose writings tens and hundreds of thousands of people claim to have been brought from the lowest hells of physical and mental suffering and moral degradation, to the plains of happiness, peace, contentment and moral and mental sanity, or the religious belief of a multitude of serious-minded men and women. And it is this lack of discrimination, which is probably due chiefly to the influence of habit

*"Christian Science." By Mark Twain. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 362. Price, \$1.75. New York: Harper & Brothers.

formed by the author's long years devoted to humorous writing, that constitutes one of the gravest criticisms of his volume on Christian Science in which a sweeping attack is made and the subject is frequently treated in a flippant and humorous manner.

The introductory chapter in this volume appeared a few years ago in a well-known magazine, and at that time Herbert E. Cushman, Ph.D., Professor of Philosophy in Tufts College, in commenting upon this attempt to ridicule the new religious belief, said:

"The question naturally arises, after reading such a caricature, Can not any thing, any body, any doctrine, be caricatured? Is there any existing thing that does not have apparent inconsistencies? A caricature is always merely negative, and therefore is not convincing. Indeed, if one is not on pleasure bent, but is seeking serious information on any matter, intentional levity, especially in the case of a deep religious concern, is represented.

"We must remember that we cannot afford to deal with a matter of this sort other than seriously;—if for no other reason, because to a large number of earnest-minded people it is a matter of religion. For our own sakes, indeed, we can never afford to treat any religious or philosophical belief in other than the mood in which the devotees themselves accept it."

This is one of the grave charges that can be justly brought against the work in question. It ignores the fact that this religious message has transformed the world for tens of thousands of weary, heavy-laden and disease-bound mortals; that it has brought a new and great hope into their lives, changing night into day, bitterness into sweetness, despair into sure and abiding hope and trust.

Of all works that have appeared in recent years, this is, we think, the strangest admixture of levity and seriousness, of flippancy and buffoonery and apparent earnestness and conviction, of honest admission and reckless attempts to fan into flame the religious prejudices of the people. Here we are constantly confronted with amazing and illogical appeals unworthy of any sound reasoner, but advanced with consummate literary skill, and with a wizard's power in manipulating words so as to make less apparent the empiricism and sophistry that mark its pages.

The book abounds in what may be characterized as intellectual antitheses which are bewildering in their influence on the mind. Thus, for example, before an attack on the Christian Science organization and a frenzied alarmist cry indulged in for the palpable purpose of awakening the fears and arousing the religious bigotry and prejudice of the older churches, Mark Twain admits the tremendous work that Christian Science is doing in changing for its tens of thousands of believers the world in which they live, making them well in body and happy and contented in mind. He even goes so far as to express his deliberate belief that Christian Science can banish four-fifths of the pain and disease of the race;* that no other organized force that he knows of could do this; and that to do this would be to make a new world—a pleasant one for the well people as well as for the sick. He further declares that as a rule they (the Christian Scientists) "seem drunk with health, and with the surprise of it, the wonder of it."†

Again he quotes a Baptist clergyman and comments favorably on his contrast between the ordinary orthodox Christian and the Christian Scientist.

The Baptist clergyman, says our author, "gives us this true picture of 'the average orthodox Christian'—and he could have added that it is a true picture of the average (civilized) human being:

"He is a worried and fretted and fearful man; afraid of himself and his propensities, afraid of colds and fevers, afraid of treading on serpents or drinking deadly things."

"Then he gives us this contrast:

"The average Christian Scientist has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet. He does have a victory over fear and care that is not achieved by the average orthodox Christian."

"He has put all anxiety and fretting under his feet. What proportion of your earnings or income would you be willing to pay for that frame of mind, year in, year out? It really outvalues any price that can be put upon it. Where can you purchase it, at any outlay of any sort, in any Church or out of it, except the Scientist's?"§

A little further on in his work we find the author strenuously attacking the Christian

*See *Christian Science*, by Mark Twain, p. 53.

†*Ibid.*, p. 55.

‡*Christian Science*, p. 54.

organization or the governing board of the Christian Science church, that is so successfully directing the great work of the organization. And next we see him in the rôle of an alarmist, conjuring up fearsome bogies and dangling them before the great orthodox churches. True, the organization which according to Mark Twain, if left alone, would rid the world of four-fifths of its pain and disease, is not yet formidable enough to arouse the ever-sensitive fear of the great body of conventional religionists to such a degree as to fan into flame religious bigotry and intolerance and that unreasoning religious prejudice which as organized opposition has fought every advance step in the history of the world; that opposition which brought Jesus to the cross; that lit the fires of the Inquisition; that persecuted and put to death the Quakers; that banished the Baptists from Massachusetts Colony; and that so bitterly fought the discoveries of Galileo and Copernicus, of Newton and Darwin.

Our critic, seeing the futility of attempting to marshal the opposition of the older churches against Christian Science by confining himself to facts or describing things as they are to-day, indulges in prophecy, and from the conclusions based on this prophecy he appeals to the religious fears and prejudices. The cloud which to-day is small as a man's hand he believes will rapidly spread until it covers the earth. Thus he predicts that Christian Science by 1920 will have ten million adherents in America, and three million in England; that by 1940 the organization will dominate the religious situation in America and be "the governing power in the Republic,—to remain that, permanently."*

What a fearful prospect Mark Twain here unfolds before his readers, picturing the rapid growth of a power that the author declares would rid the world of four-fifths of its pain and disease, that would make the people drunk with health, that would fill their hearts with contentment and happiness instead of with bitterness and inharmony.

Perhaps our author felt that this sketch of the rapid growth of this church, which he had thus described, would fail of its desired purpose, for he next presents a dire spectacle of the church as he conceives it would be, as the "most insolent and unscrupulous and tyrannical politico-religious master that has

dominated a people since the palmy days of the Inquisition."[†]

Here is an organization whose mission is to make life pure, sweet, happy and contented and which can, according to our author, take from the world four-fifths of its pain and disease,—a church whose master appeal to men is to live a just, pure and loving life,—represented as being irresponsible, tyrannical, unscrupulous, sly, deep and judicious; and more than that, with all these evil attributes apparent to as casual an observer as Mark Twain, it will nevertheless sweep the land and become the dominant religious order before our century reaches its meridian.

Let us look at this question calmly and fairly and also consider the unique course of special pleading by which Mark Twain arrives at his astounding conclusion. If a religion is to make any great headway in a land of universal education, or even where there is a reasonable degree of intellectual activity, it must possess certain great factors or make powerful appeals to life on some of its chief motor planes. True, after a religion has won over a great proportion of the people and become a large and influential factor in national life, the power of environment and deep-seated inherited religious prejudice is a tremendous factor to be reckoned with. Thus, for example, if we were considering the probable growth of the Methodist, the Baptist or the Catholic churches, each of which numbers many millions of adherents in the Republic the question of environment would have to be considered as one of the powerful factors, and hand in hand with it would be the deep-seated prejudice imbibed from the cradle. But in considering a new religious organization and its appeal to the public, we find the vast weight of environment naturally and inevitably arrayed against it, so as a factor to be taken into consideration it must be reckoned *against* and not *for* the new religion.

Now let us consider the factors that must be dominant in any effective appeal made by a new religion to the intellect and conscience of an enlightened people.

(1) It must appeal to the spiritual or moral sides of life. It must answer the hunger of the soul by satisfying the cravings and aspirations of the higher nature. It must appeal to the moral idealism, that mighty fulcrum for

*Christian Science, p. 72.

[†]Ibid., p. 72.

human upliftment. It must give peace, happiness, contentment, and carry a conviction of truth with it; or (2) it must appeal with irresistible force to the rationality of man as a system of thought dealing with life, its development and laws of conduct as probably true and helpful for the best interests of men and nations; or (3) it must powerfully appeal to the esthetic, dramatic or purely emotional sides of life, as does the gorgeous and impressive ritual of the Roman church on the one hand, or as did the message proclaimed by Wesley and Whitefield in the early days of Methodism.

Now in regard to this last factor, it will be clearly seen that it has no important bearing on Christian Science, for the latter church makes no strong appeal to the esthetic and dramatic tastes. Indeed, it does not even offer the attraction of pulpit eloquence, which is a strong influence in most Protestant denominations. The service is severely plain,—next to the Quakers probably the plainest of that of any religious organization. It indulges in no revival meetings or appeals to the emotional side of life, so that the only two factors that can be legitimately considered as exerting an overpowering influence are those of its appeal to the spiritual or the intellectual sides of life.

True, the healing which follows is probably one of the chief factors, if not the chief influence, in drawing outsiders to the church, but this is a part of the religious teaching of the church, it being insisted upon that the Founder of Christianity clearly and unmistakably declared that His disciples should be known by the sign that they carried, or by their power to heal the sick: and it is one of the fundamental teachings of the church that the promise of health and happiness is only to those who incorporate the Christian ideal of love, justice and duty into their daily lives.

It would seem, therefore, that if Christian Science is to make any masterful strides, it must do so by virtue of its appeal to the spiritual or conscience side of life, or to the reason.

We think it will be admitted on all hands that Christian Science has spread because it has proved a present help to those bound by sin, sickness and misfortune, and in helping them it has lifted their eyes from the plane of sense perception to that of spiritual or ethical idealism. While its philosophic concepts strongly suggest much of the thought of Plato

and the great German transcendental thinkers, its appeal has been made to the people in language that they could comprehend.

It is preëminently idealistic. Professor Cushman points out the fact that on its theoretical side it has much in common with the philosophical concepts of St. Paul, Plotinus, Spinoza, Thomas à Kempis, Luther, and even Whitman. "It will thus be seen," he says, "that Christian Science is akin to many mighty theories." He holds that as a movement, it is "not only a reaction against ecclesiasticism, but, as its name indicates, against materialism as well. Ecclesiasticism and materialism are not of necessity companions, but in the present period of civilization they happen to be such."

"Looked at from a social point-of-view," continues Professor Cushman, "the Christian Science movement is a social reform. It represents the protest of the individual. It finds its counterpart in many epochs in history,—as in the revolt of Luther from the Roman Catholic Church, in the revolt of Wesley from the English Church, and in many other ecclesiastical crises. . . . The individual's religious life has been starved, and now we find the individual rising to a full consciousness of his power. The central doctrine of Christian Science, to wit: that God is *the real* in the life of every individual, although, as we shall see, it is a very old doctrine, has given to the modern man a new sense of his immortality and greatness."

With these facts in mind, let us return to our critic. Mark Twain has a case to make out, and the logical conclusions that are inevitable from the given premises must be overruled or his object will not be attained. Hence, while *assuming* that the governing board of the church will become "insolent, unscrupulous and tyrannical," that it is "deep, sly and judicious," he finds it necessary to admit that the lay membership is entirely sincere and they are full of zeal. But what has awakened the earnestness and zeal of these tens of thousands of intelligent people who are not of a frivolous class, but are intensely sincere, if not the fact that in every instance the religious truths or the message have proved helpful to the needs of their minds and bodies,—something that has answered the hunger and yearning of their souls and which the sleeping churches have not given them? Intelligent men and women do not go with zeal, consecration and earnest-

ness into an unpopular cause, one that offers no material advancement, unless it proves a vital help and appeals to their reason and conviction of truth. Neither do Americans blindly follow insolent, unscrupulous and tyrannical officials, such as Mark Twain in his broad and comprehensive ignorance (to give him the benefit of the most charitable possible presumption) represents the governing board of the Christian Science Church to be. All persons of extensive acquaintance with the members of this church know that the Christian Scientists are an intelligent body of people. Among their numbers are to be found scores and hundreds of men who are profound thinkers,—men who are trained to observe critically and think judicially, who would not stand for action that is at variance with all the teachings of the church.

But, as we have said, Mark Twain has a case to make out, and he attempts to prove the probability of his assumptions by advancing two amazing propositions, and by citing one historic case as a parallel.

(1) To establish his theory he finds it necessary to assume that the American people are so hopelessly ignorant that they cannot reason intelligently on religious matters.

(2) In environment he claims to find the master factor that will make Christian Science dominant in the Republic in less than a life-time.

In the first place, he holds that there are not more than ten persons in five hundred who can intelligently or competently examine a religious plan. Here are his declarations:

"In a church assemblage of five hundred persons . . . four hundred and ninety of them cannot competently examine either a religious plan or a political one. A scattering few of them do examine both—that is, they think they do. With results as precious as when I examine the nebular theory and explain it to myself."*

Now here we have twenty persons in a thousand competent to examine religious questions, and nine hundred and eighty ignoramuses incapable of thinking intelligently on religious problems; so if Mark Twain be correct the advance of Christian Science cannot be through rational methods or intelligent intellectual and spiritual apprehension. Hence it becomes necessary for him to find a factor that will be overwhelming in influence, other than something that will

appeal to the brain or the enlightened spiritual apprehension, for these he necessarily wishes to rule out of court.

In this dilemma, what does he do? Something that gives added emphasis to his frank contempt for the intelligence of the American people. Let us quote his own words:

"If the four hundred and ninety got their religion through their minds, and by weighed and measured detail, Christian Science would not be a scary apparition. But they do n't; they get a little of it through their minds, more of it through their feelings, and the overwhelming bulk of it through their environment.

"*Environment* is the chief thing to be considered when one is proposing to predict the future of Christian Science. . . . A Presbyterian family does not produce Catholic families or other religious brands, it produces its own kind; and not by intellectual processes, but by association."[†]

There we have it! Environment! Could the intelligence of the reader be more gratuitously insulted by an assertion more glaringly absurd and illogical? We have already seen that with the Catholics, the Methodists or the Baptists, or with any other denomination having millions of adherents, environment would be a positive factor, and we have also seen that in the very nature of the case Christian Scientists have the overwhelming preponderance of environment arrayed against them. Mark Twain continues:

"It is not the ability to reason that makes the Presbyterian, or the Baptist, or the Methodist, or the Catholic, or the Mohammedi, or the Buddhist, or the Mormon; it is *environment*."[§]

While we incline to believe that the author over-values environment, for the sake of argument we grant his contention. But what does it prove in its application to Christian Science? Simply this: that at every step this all-powerful factor is bound to bar the progress of the new and unpopular faith. Thus, for example, in a town of one thousand Catholics, twelve hundred Methodists, one thousand Baptists, eight hundred members of other denominations, and ten Christian Scientists, what has the religion of the ten to expect from this factor, which Mark Twain, presuming on the ignorance of his readers, would have us believe

**Christian Science*, p. 90 and 92.

[†]*Ibid.*, p. 93.

the master influence that will make Christian Science formidable? Here we have four thousand people whose environment, associations and religious prejudices make them hostile to Christian Science, and ten Christian Scientists. Yet by advancing this factor as the master influence, he seeks to justify his assumption that Christian Science will dominate America in 1940, and we are gravely told that while the Christian Science church "makes no embarrassing appeal to the intellect,"* yet it will sweep the nation because of environment. "Environment is the chief thing to be considered when one is proposing to predict the future of Christian Science."

Mark Twain, in speaking of *Science and Health*, says:

"For of all the strange and frantic and incomprehensible and uninterpretable books which the imagination of man has created, surely this one is the prize sample."†

We submit that among all recorded attempts to justify a claim by advancing conclusions other than the logical and obvious ones, Mark Twain's forced effort to account for the spread of Christian Science on the hypothesis of environment stands in proud preëminence, whether considered as a gratuitous insult to the intelligence of his readers or as an exhibition of absurd, irrational and illogical conclusions from facts involved.

Mark Twain's attempt to show that Christian Science is creating an environment to work in is pointless, because there is the environment of the hundred antagonistic to it where there is one family circle that is hospitable to the new belief. This whole miserable exhibition of sophistry is patently an attempt to fan into flame the blind, irrational but deep-rooted religious prejudice that has in past ages been responsible for so much misery, torture, persecution and inhumanity.

But our author seems to have felt that he must have an historic parallel to help him out. His logic is lame, or rather his argument is innocent of logic, so he resorts to the device of an alleged historic parallel. He points to Mohammedanism, "the cult which in our day is spreading with the sweep of a world-conflagration through the Orient."§

**Christian Science*, p. 96.

†*Ibid.*, p. 29.

‡*Christian Science*, p. 93.

"The Christian Science Church," he assures us, "like the Mohammedan Church, makes no embarrassing appeal to the intellect."||

And again:

"Christian Science, like Mohammedanism, is 'restricted' to the 'unintelligent, the people who do not think.' There lies the danger. It makes Christian Science formidable. It is 'restricted' to ninety-nine one-hundredths of the human race, and must be reckoned with by regular Christianity."||

Here is a fair example of the recklessness that marks this book. Men like Judge Works, formerly of the Supreme Bench of California, Judge Ewing of Chicago, Judge L. H. Jones of Louisville, Kentucky, ex-Attorney-General Buskirk of Indiana, Judge S. J. Hanna, W. D. McCrackan, A.M., the historian, Professor Joel Mosley, Ph.D., and hundreds of other highly intelligent men whose minds have been trained to reason closely and look on all sides of a question, are classed among the "unintelligent who do not think" by this new judge.

Now when a man assumes to judge, it is reasonable to demand that he be competent and fair. Let us examine Mark Twain's comparison in the light of the facts involved. Mohammedanism has spread among the ignorant masses of Western Asia and Northern Africa. In some cases it quickly impresses the ignorant minds of the people groping for some religious light to meet that universal soul hunger of the aspiring human animal. But in many instances the sword of force has marked the advance of this militant church. All opposition was crushed. The savage chieftains and leaders joyed in a faith that justified war and pillage in the name of religion. The standard of holy war was raised and wholesale murder, pillage and rapine followed. How rich was the spoil of cities sacked and of peoples crushed; how bountifully did the fair maidens of the conquered tribes minister to the lust of the leaders and replenish the harems to overflowing. The Mohammedan is taught to believe that he who dies fighting after the holy standard was raised goes immediately to Paradise. He also knows that if he lives he has the prospect of rich booty as a return for his service. And these things naturally appeal powerfully to the imagination of

¶*Ibid.*, p. 94.

||*Christian Science*, p. 96.

warlike peoples. The spread of Mohammedanism has been due to the sword of force quite as much as to missionary zeal among the ignorant masses of Africa and Asia; for though it must be remembered that India has long been a home of philosophy and a cradle of great religions, we must not allow ourselves to be deceived by unconscious comparisons with Western civilization. There are, and have been for centuries on centuries, a great number of profound introspective thinkers and philosophers in India, but where there is one such, there are thousands of miserable creatures as hopelessly ignorant as they are desperately poor,—wretched human ants who are born in dire poverty and who toilsomely creep through life, enveloped in ignorance, to find rest only in the grave. The great teeming millions of India, unlike our people, have not had the advantages of education. Like the children of Northern Africa, they are pitifully ignorant, and unlike the fierce African heathen, they are bound and fettered by the degrading curse of caste. They suffer much. They are ever struggling with flood, fever, famine or pestilence. Any religion that offers them a definite sensuous heaven, like Mohammedanism, naturally appeals to them. And where the cause has not been hastened by the conqueror's sword, the missionary has found the field fruitful soil.

But it may be argued that the Indian rajahs and men of rank and position have often accepted Mohammedanism. True. And why? Let us see. If Mohammedanism, like Christian Science, opposed all war, even as did the great Nazarene, and held out no lure of plunder, spoil, or fair women to the daring chiefs and warlike leaders; if, like Christian Science, Mohammedanism not only refused to sanction polygamy or wholesale sensual gratification, but required her disciples to live lives of purity and fidelity to the demands of austere morality; if, like Christian Science, it taught the supremacy of the spiritual and inculcated altruistic love, justice and loyalty to duty and truth, how many of the ruling class in those Oriental despotic lands, think you, would have embraced Mohammedanism? Few, if any; for the great philosophical religions of India are diametrically opposed to the sensuous, militant and materialistic religion of Mohammed.

Now to compare Mohammedanism to Christian Science, or its spread in Africa and Asia to the growth of Christian Science in

enlightened America under the full blaze of popular education, of scientific research and of growing intelligence, is as absurd and unfair as the author's environment hypothesis was shallow and illogical.

In this paper we have only noticed the content matter of the first section of Mark Twain's work. If time permits we will in a future issue notice some of the many absurd charges that abound in the second division of the work. The chapters we have noticed, however, illustrate how reckless and untrustworthy is the work.

Mark Twain's claim that Christian Science is rapidly spreading is doubtless true, and he gives an example which he vouches for, in the following:

"Four years ago there were six Christain Scientists in a certain town that I am acquainted with; a year ago there were two hundred and fifty there; they have built a church, and its membership now numbers four hundred. This has all been quietly done; done without frenzied revivals, without uniforms, brass bands, street parades, corner oratory, or any of the other esutomary persuasions to a godly life."*

And yet he claims that this religion, which its advocates hold is reawakening the people to the vital meaning of the message of the Nazarene, is formidable because its appeal is restricted to the ignorant. Christian Science has a definite system of religious teachings. That its ethics are lofty we think no one will deny, even though he may fail to agree with its theory of creation or its explanation of those profound questions which have engrossed the most serious thought of the master minds of every land and age. Yet while one may not accept its philosophical explanations, which are intensely idealistic it is well to remember that throughout all the historic past there have been master thinkers who have held ideas much akin to those which are here enunciated. The author of *Ideas That Have Influenced Civilization*, in speaking of the religious philosophy of the ancient Indians, well observes that "it gradually reduced the many gods to one, identified the world with that one, and that one and the whole world with the self of the individual, thus arriving at the most intensely idealistic system ever constructed by man. It believed, too, that the future of the soul depended upon this knowledge."

**Christian Science*, p. 96.

This is not the teaching of Christian Science, yet it is more akin to its philosophical concept than that of the dominant materialistic evolutionary theory of our day or the doctrine of an anthropomorphic God, who remaining outside of his creation, arbitrarily produced the world and all living things. The philosophic concepts of Plato and of many other idealistic philosophers, including Kant, are more in accord with those of the materialistic evolutionary philosophy.

Hence, while one may find the evolutionary theory more convincing than the idealistic or transcendental concepts, when one remembers how those concepts have enthralled and appealed to so many of the mightiest intellects of the ages, he will hesitate to sneer at views seriously advanced relating to the most profound and masterly of all problems—that of creation and the development of life.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.

"THE KINGDOM OF LOVE."*

A BOOK-STUDY.

I.

ONE DAY in New York, early in the eighties, we bought a copy of the *New York Graphic*, then the only illustrated daily published in the world. In this particular issue was a portrait and sketch of Henry Frank, a young liberal clergyman who was creating quite a stir in Jamestown, New York, if we remember correctly. We read the sketch carefully, and especially the views expressed by the young minister, and were impressed at the time with the sincerity of the man. His words had the ring of truth; his ideals were high and fine. We felt at the time that however short he might fall of compassing the labors he hoped to achieve, his influence would be cast on the side of progress, and that the world would be better for his having lived. For whenever a man is earnest, sincere, broad, tolerant and just, his influence makes for human upliftment and enduring progress. For many years we lost sight of Mr. Frank, but he was not forgotten, and after we founded *THE ARENA* he was among the army of earnest men and women who became active supporters of this review. Since then we have followed him in his public work with deep interest. Later he became a valued contributor to *THE ARENA*. It has been especially gratifying to us to note a steady development in his work toward that full-orbed excellence that marks maturity in thought and expression.

* "The Kingdom of Love." By [Henry] Frank. Cloth. Pp. 246. Price, \$1.00. New York | R. F. Fenno & Company

II.

The Kingdom of Love is the ablest work that has come from the pen of Mr. Frank. It deals with love from the view-point of a critical scientist, an introspective philosopher and an imaginative poet, and is thus, we think, the broadest and most comprehensive study of the master dynamic force of creation that has been written.

The volume is introduced by a little poetic wail entitled "Love is God," from which we take the following stanzas:

"Love is God—the king of power,
Soul of seed and stem and flower;
Force that sways the world as one,
Balancing the stars and sun.

"Love inspires vernal breath,
Rescuing earth from winter's death;
Shapes the perfect crystal form
Of snowy flake in frigid storm.

"Love weaves the leaves and builds the trees;
Soul is he of symmetry;
Shapes the vast anatomy
Of cosmic frame with unity.

"Love is Lord of Heaven and Earth,
Satisfying want and dearth.
He who fears, has yet to learn
E'en the least he does not spurn."

The volume is divided into two parts, the first being devoted to "The Kingdom of Love" and containing six chapters in which love is considered as "A Cosmic Principle," "The Mother Principle," "The Social Principle," "The Deific Principle," and "The

Healing Grace." Part Two is concerned with "Contemplations of Life's Ideals" and contains thirty-seven brief chapters, each rich in truths presented in the short, bright, epigrammatic style which marks Mr. Frank's compositions. Something of the wide range of thought embraced in this division and the grave importance of the subject matter may be gained from the following titles of some of the chapters: "The Wings of Hope"; "Fathoming the Deeps of Self"; "The Law of Altruism"; "Social Sympathy"; "Desire—The Human Magnet"; "The Teachers of the Race"; "The Power of the Poet"; "The False Plaintiff of the Pessimist"; "Near-ing the Divine"; "Where Love Reigns"; "The Mystic Meaning of the Resurrection"; "The Call of Eden"; "How to be Happy"; "Faith, Born of Knowledge"; "Sunrise in the Soul"; "Ideal Possibilities of Society"; "The Song of Truth"; "The Sin of Self-Deception"; "Earth's Crowning Glory"; and "The Mystery of Self."

III.

Mr. Frank possesses in a marked degree the modern searching or scientific spirit, blended with the introspective intuitional gift of the metaphysical philosopher, while these qualities are complemented by the imaginative spirit of the true poet. This union is as rare as it is pleasing when it comes to the treatment of a great subject like that with which this volume is concerned. Usually love has been abandoned to the sentimentalists and the poets. When it has come under the cold critical analysis of the psychologist or materialistic scientist it has been treated in a manner far from satisfactory, because the most vital and real essence eludes the materialistic philosopher who is wanting in the penetrating power of the poet. But here the subject is treated in turn as a scientist would view it, as a philosopher apprehends its meaning, and as a poet feels its magic and power, the result being a full-orbed view of the greatest thing in the world.

In the opening pages the author shows how absurd is the shallow concept that love makes a man a weakling or a coward. It is "Nature's most potent force," possessing "an energy whose possibilities are beyond imagination." "As a force it reveals its cosmic nature."

"As all the forces in Nature are but the

transmutation of a single energy so love is itself but the transmutation in human and vital experience of gravitation and attraction in the material world.

"As gravity establishes the poise and integrity of the cosmic spheres so love maintains the intergity and permanence of the social spheres.

"Love is a cosmic principle, pervading the entire universe. We may speak of the love of atoms, without the violation of scientific verity. The cosmos is primarily a drama of primitive atomic affections, unconsciously evincing the supreme force that sustains the world.

"In the theory of world-evolutions from primal nebulae, the dream of the nebular hypothesis, we read the first love-story played upon the infinite stage of existence. The power that combines is the mother-heart of the universe that inspires and sustains all her manifold offspring.

"This is the principle that establishes and coördinates the order of the universe, the logical procession of events. By its exercise alone have evolved all the wonder worlds of space.

"Were not this principle persistent and preëminent in Nature, all substances would instantly dissolve, the starry spheres disintegrate and universal ruin follow. It is the ridge-pole that holds and balances the entire structure pinning together firmament and foundation in indissoluble unity.

"Studied from the cosmic view-point, Love is not mere sentiment; it is the underlying, sustaining, supreme principle of all existence."

The scientific searcher considers the great law of attraction or affinity and notes how precise and inexorable are its demands. Then he traces the gradual unfoldment of this basic principle, the broadening and out-blossoming of love as life rises higher and higher, till it is consummated in the splendid bloom of humanity.

From the scientific aspect our author turns to the philosophical and idealistic concepts. Here we find "love demands no sacrifice not made for higher ends and loftier attainments." Love demands harmony.

"Whoever loves his brother and the race will never be contented till the last discord is

corrected in the orchestration of the social forces that make the melody of individual and collective life."

He finds love to be "the inspiration of the poet, the wisdom of the philosopher, the courage of the warrior, the hope of the hero, the devotion of the mother."

"Love is the forgiving judge, the succoring king, the redeeming saviour, the creating God.

"Love indeed is God, if power, authority, supremacy, be qualities of God. Love is God if omnipotence, omnipresence, invariableness and justice are attributes of divinity.

"Not Eros, nor Venus; not love of self or selfish love, not love of association or mating passions of the breast; not these are God of love, though deflected emanations of his presence.

"But that divinity that yields never an inch to wrong nor dwells one instant with disharmony, but spreads the mantle of mercy over all and invites humanity to peace, plenty and prosperity; this be the Deity we recognize in love and beseech for happiness and help!"

"The fingers of love everywhere weave the meshes of life's fabric."

From a consideration of love as the cosmic principle, Mr. Frank passes to a deeply thoughtful examination of "Love, the Mother Principle," and from this to "Love, the Social Principle." This chapter will be of special interest to those who are battling for a juster and truer economic order, and our author, though strong in faith as to the ultimate triumph of the good over the evil, though believing that harmony will follow the discord of the present, is not blind to the fact that this consummation is as yet far off.

"When the existing bond of fellow sympathy—the colorless affection which now pervades the race—shall have become as strong and indispensable as the bond of present mother love, society will evolve to social brotherhood.

"When the social love shall crown the mother love—or, shall we say, when in that far off paradise the mother love shall be dissolved in the universal and all-absorbing social love,—then will come the millennium and the apotheosis of aspiring humanity.

"To realize how far removed we are as yet from 'that far-off, divine event' we need but review the social conditions that are extant to-day. How unequally yoked is man with man! The pauper clings with the

grip of hunger to the prince. Rags are still the emblem of woe for more than three-quarters of the race; the gilded purse is still the proud insignia of the ever-acquiring few.

"The stately homes of wealth rear side by side with the vermin-eaten dens of the rag-picker and the thief. The resplendent mansions of our social princesses are outdazzled by the false glare of the *maison doree* of the *demi monde*. The jewelled fingers of the princely plutocrat clip his fabulous coupons, whilst an army of shivering wretches beg at private bakeries for a coveted loaf of bread!

"In our great city—the city of marvels and magnates, of buildings rivalling in height the Tower of Babel, of mansions whose possessors a Cæsus might well envy—into whose narrow coffers the wealth of the world is ever pouring—in this great world-metropolis—and in all the world-metropolises of all the nations—what travesties of human hope and perversions of earthly ambition we behold!

"Here, as everywhere throughout the globe, are still witnessed in human form the ferocity of the lion and the cunning of the fox. Where the lion cannot claw and gnaw his victim, some cunning 'Reynard' easily entices him to ruin and destruction.

"What wonder we hear of social wars and rumors of wars! Howbeit, there is hope in human progress.

"The time will yet come when *love shall be recognized as a social principle*: not as a sentiment or a prophecy, but a principle and a realization.

"We shall sometime learn that love is the one and only force that can finally readjust the social discrepancies and reinstate the status of harmony for which all earnest souls have ever yearned. So long as the attitude between capital and labor—employer and employed—is one of mutual mistrust, intrigue and deceit—envy on the one hand rivalling fear on the other—so long will the existing social disharmonies continue and disastrous results ensue."

In his chapter dealing with "Love, the Healing Grace," the author does not hold that love will cure every ill, or rather, he holds that conditions may be such that love fails of its high potency, and the laboratory of nature is required to help the ailing human. Still he believes that:

"The soul is the realm of harmony. Within its abysmal deeps abides an undisturbed and unknown calm.

"The mind and body are the realm of

action, and oft of perturbation. Thought is the mediator 'twixt soul and body. When with Love's force thought sways the wires of the nervous system, it stirs the body, thrills each atom, radiates from its surface, and like a divine energy—a living principle—compels the physical organs to function in unison, and restore the normal situation. The mightier the flow of love the more effective its potent presence.

"Such is the power of the presence of love over the human frame. When man is oppressed with disease he absorbs the damp atmosphere of discouragement and despair. The gloom of the night is upon him. His thoughts are vicious; his breath is poison.

"But when Love—like a golden sun—warms him with its enswathing beams, light seems to penetrate the very cells of his blood, radiate from his veins, glow from his eyes, gladden his cheeks, and illuminate his being with a splendor whose presence is peace, whose power is overpowering.

"It is a remarkable but undeniable fact that even semi-conscious animate natures respond to the ministrations of Love. Every flower, every grass blade, every insect, every bird and quadruped is instantly responsive to the presence or absence of this mystic minister.

"Love is the fulfilling of the law in every plane of nature. She is not more potent in giant than in insect, in mountain than in ant-hill, in a star than in a seed; but in all alike her puissance is assertive, and betimes supreme,—man's chief source of energy, conservator of harmony.

"Following love we enter into port with flying colors. As yon pole star guides the mariner across the pathless deep; as the far goal of victory entices the runner till his feet are fleet as the wind; so Love forever guides, inspires and assures.

"Blessed is he whose God is Love, for if he be faithful, and faint not, his days shall be full, his blessings plentiful, and his courage amid trials indomitable."

The volume, as we have indicated, deals with love scientifically, philosophically and poetically, and indeed the work is studded with prose poems that are fraught with lessons of helpfulness for aspiring natures. Take, for example, these paragraphs from "*The Wings of Hope*:

"Dull eyes and sunken cheeks, deep sighs

and pitiful expressions, are not the symbols of success.

"He wins who dares. The world loves a hero, and deplores a coward.

"Go forth to the battle of life each day, with a bold breast, a lofty brow, a heart mettled for any fate.

"Walk with firm, elastic tread upon the bounding earth: sway the shoulders backward and drink in long draughts of freedom's air, swelling the chest with resolution's proud impress!

"Fear not. Whatever thou hast done; abide therein. If wrong, it will in time adjust itself, if thou art true. If right, the world must see it in the end, though blind and stolid now.

"Justice balances the scales of fate. Time heals all wounds. Truth at the last must conquer, though oft beset with ambuscades of error.

"Far above the gloom of suffering and the grime of toil, high in the heavens of night, where not a cloud bedims, hangs the Star of Hope, emblazoning the midnight of our pilgrimage.

"And what though the dusk invite thee to frugal fare and coarse-clothed bed, to hapless solitude and uninited grief?

"Alone, by resolution's aid, thou canst arise self-mastered, and prepare another day for victory's glad advent.

"Upon the wings of hope ascend, borne in imagination to the plains of triumph, and undespering strive on till the dream be realized in fact.

"Commune with Nature; behold, she faints not nor expires, but struggles and survives.

"Hope wings her way to where the sun forever shines, and dark despair ne'er shades the night with mantling gloom.

"Trust her awakening inspirations, nor falter but toil on, till triumph crown the struggle, and peace will smooth the wrinkles that care and age have carved upon thy face. Happiness, the fruit and just reward of faithful effort and obedient virtue, at last shall prove her benediction in the lustre of the eye and the laughter of the lips."

Very rich in suggestive truth is the chapter on "*The Teachers of the Race*," from which we take the following extracts:

"To attune one's life to the age in which one lives is a genial occupation. But to rise above the age, and forestall some future

epoch, is the calling of the prophet, the task of the hero.

"He who forces men to think, becomes the victim of the mob. He who comforts the world with palliative policies and theories of smug contentment, wears the obsequious crown that flattery bestows.

"But he who is indifferent to the songs of praise and defies the shouts of condemnation, mindful only of the convictions that inspire him, becomes the man of sorrows, dishonored in his day, howbeit immortalized thereafter.

"Earth engenders but few seers who pierce the veil of time, and behold the dissolution of temporal motives before the indissoluble ideals of the race.

"Most men are cast in molds of clay and have but stony eyes. In the lair of their hearts still lurk the beasts of prey, and beneath their skins grovels the swarthy savage.

"Mankind are still but gross animals wallowing in the mire, feeding on husks of ignorance, burrowing in bogs of bigotry, and cowering in forests of fear.

"Men flee the hand that would caress, and kiss the hand that flays. They love their masters and hate their redeemers. They slay their prophets and exalt their despots. They mistake their task-masters for their saviours and time-servants for their teachers.

"Mankind are slow to think. Millenniums are necessary for the growth of a single idea. Suffering is the source of knowledge. The heart must be crucified before the brain is roused.

"In the School of Human Life a thousand years are but as a day when it is passed, and a century affords but time for a single lesson.

"Hence the Great Teachers of the race can be counted almost on the fingers of the hand. From the beginning of time to the present hour they have sought to inculcate a few simple precepts and deathless truths, which are still caviare to the masses,—but vain enigmas and babbling verbosity.

"The Avatars and Christs have come and gone through the rolling years, each repeating and emphasizing what his predecessor taught, and yet man has not eyes to see, or ears to hear; for ignorance comforts him while knowledge irritates and pains him.

"To live in the past is to sleep. To live in the future is to dream. We are awake only in the present.

"He who learns so to adapt the experiences of the past, that the dreams of the future

which they awaken are somewhat forestalled in the passing epoch, is the sage whose wisdom guides the affairs of men.

"Not like that Chinese philosopher, Confucius, whose mind was fastened in the stocks of dead customs and vanished centuries, must be the leader of our day; but like one whose eyes are in his forehead, whose feet are on the Highway.

"Such a teacher is one in whose life are garnered the fruits of the world's gardens of wisdom."

Though from time to time the reader may question the author's position on some points, no one can, we think, read this work without being materially helped, not only by having his intellect stimulated and his field of vision broadened, but also by being encouraged, inspired and strengthened in all high and true purposes. The volume is not without its faults. At times one regrets the employment of commonplace terms in a volume keyed to a far higher pitch than the expressions that seem alien to the work, though they might be apt in a book written in a different vein. One illustration will suffice. In a fine description of the law of affinity and the inexorable precision that marks the coming together of elements to make various well-known compounds, our author drops from a high and dignified plane of discourse to utter a commonplace truism: "Thus early in cosmic experience," he tells us, "the law is uttered: 'Two are company; three are a crowd!'"

There are times, too, when the use of the same word with different significations may prove confusing to the reader. Thus we have seen how our author regards love in its broad significance as the mighty dynamo of life and growth,—the moral fulcrum by which life is lifted; yet elsewhere he says, employing love in a narrower signification:

"Dying hate merges in love: exhausted love relapses into hate. Both are opposite phases of the same emotion.

"The perfect man neither loves nor hates; for both are phases of selfishness. He abides in peace, beyond emotion or desire, and is therefore neither selfish nor unselfish."

The faults of expression, however, are merely blemishes in an exceptionally valuable work,—a book so full of food for mind and imagination that one finds it difficult to refrain from extensive quotations. But space renders it impossible for us to do more than give our readers a few lines in closing from

the chapter on "The Dream of Death":

"Death is not, life only is! Death is an apparition, life is reality! Death is ephemeral, life is eternal! Death passes, but life is forever!"

"The Dreamer never despairs."

"Dream on, O Heart of hope and Soul of Sight!"

"The heavens may yet be cleaved, the grave traversed, by more than thy simple

dreams, more than thy spendthrift fancy. The soul is ever herald of the sense. The spirit first sees what the flesh but late discerns.

"See on, O Soul, till sense is spiritualized, and flesh yields to ethereal essence.

"Dream on, O Dreamer, thou that knowest not despair; thou, that knowest not death, live thou forever!

"The Dreamer never despairs!"

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

Thoreau's Selected Works. Bijou Edition, comprising five volumes: *Cape Cod*, *Excursions*, *The Maine Woods*, *Walden*, *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*. Each volume bound in cloth, stamped in gold, with gilt top. Sold only in sets. Price, \$2.50. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

AMONG the newly issued works that will prove a delight to lovers of good literature that is at once restful and yet informing in character, are the selected works of Henry D. Thoreau, published in five handy-sized volumes. Interest in the work is materially increased by an admirable preface to each volume, dealing with the life or writings of Thoreau, by persons eminently fitted to speak authoritatively. The volume entitled *Excursions* is prefaced by Ralph Waldo Emerson's biographical sketch of Thoreau, a classic in itself; *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers* is introduced by a sketch from the pen of Nathan Haskell Dole, marked by keen insight and a fine discriminating spirit; *Cape Cod* and *The Maine Woods* are prefaced by excellent sketches written by Annie Russell Marble; while *Walden* is introduced by Charles G. D. Roberts. This series of five essays constitutes in itself probably the best critical estimate of Thoreau and his writings that has appeared.

Thoreau occupied a unique place in that distinctly unique and never to be duplicated Concord group of distinguished Americans. After his graduation from Harvard he drifted to the woods, was enamored of nature, and became a faithful worshiper at her shrine.

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

He was perhaps the most perfect type of the philosophical anarchist that this country has produced. Of him Emerson says:

"He interrogated every custom, and wished to settle all his practice on an ideal foundation. He was a protestant à l'oudrance, and few lives contain so many renunciations. He was bred to no professions; he never married; he lived alone; he never went to church; he never voted; he refused to pay a tax to the State; he ate no flesh, he drank no wine, he never knew the use of tobacco; and, though a naturalist, he used neither trap nor gun. He chose, wisely, no doubt, for himself, to be the bachelor of thought and Nature. He had no talent for wealth, and knew how to be poor without the least hint of squalor or inelegance. Perhaps he fell into his way of living without forecasting it much, but approved it with later wisdom. 'I am often reminded,' he wrote in his journal, 'that, if I had bestowed on me the wealth of Ceresus, my aims must still be the same, and my means essentially the same.' He had no temptations to fight against,—no appetites, no passions, no taste for elegant trifles.

"He was a speaker and actor of the truth,—born such,—and was ever running into dramatic situations from this cause."

He was not an altogether agreeable companion, owing to his habit of controverting almost every observation made. His war on convention and his contempt for the foibles and follies of society carried him to the extreme in the opposite direction. He had little love for Europe.

"No truer American existed than Thoreau," declared Emerson. His preference of his

country and condition was genuine, and his aversion from English and European manners and tastes almost reached contempt. He listened impatiently to news or *bon mots* gleaned from London circles; and though he tried to be civil, these anecdotes fatigued him. The men were all imitating each other, and on a small mould. Why can they not live as far apart as possible, and each be a man by himself?"

Emerson was especially attracted to Thoreau's metaphysical ideas.

"I must add," he says, "the cardinal fact that there was an excellent wisdom in him, proper to a rare class of men, which showed him the material world as a means and symbol. This discovery, which sometimes yields to poets a certain casual and interrupted light, serving for the ornament of their writing, was in him an unsleeping insight; and whatever faults or obstructions of temperament might cloud it, he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision."

But though a man of fine brain power, a man who from a metaphysical discourse could turn to things practical,—"plan a garden, or a house, or a barn," who "would have been competent to lead a 'Pacific Exploring Expedition,'" and who "could give judicious counsel on the gravest private or public affairs," Thoreau was never so truly at home as when *en rapport* with nature and her wonder world.

"It was," says Emerson, "a pleasure and a privilege to walk with him. He knew the country like a fox or a bird, and passed through it as freely by paths of his own. He knew every track in the snow or on the ground, and what creature had taken this path before him. One must submit abjectly to such a guide, and the reward was great. Under his arm he carried an old music-book to press plants; in his pocket, his diary and pencil, a spy-glass for birds, microscope, jack-knife, and twine. He wore straw hat, stout shoes, strong gray trousers, to brave shrub-oaks and smilax, and to climb a tree for a hawk's or a squirrel's nest. He waded into the pool for the water-plants, and his strong legs were no insignificant part of his armor. . . . So much knowledge of Nature's secret and genius few others possessed, none in a more large and religious synthesis."

According to Charles G. D. Roberts, this child of the woodland was preëminently a liberator.

"If," says this author, "we call Thoreau the 'Liberator,' we remember him by what seems to me the prime function of his genius. What he chiefly sought for himself was freedom. What his life and writings chiefly do for others is to arouse them, slap cold water in their faces, prod and hustle them on toward freedom. To Thoreau freedom meant escape from the bondage of petty and pinchbeck gods, the chance to live life fully, the leisure to think, and ripen, and enjoy. His best work is full of the suggestion of escape. It invites and urges the reader forth from his thraldom. It makes for emancipation—spiritual, mental, moral, physical. In no other of his books is this liberating and arousing force so active as in *Walden*."

The writings of Thoreau possess a peculiar charm. They are richly laden with information for nature lovers, and the content matter is marked by a simplicity and directness very pleasing, and a restful quality that is refreshing and hardly to be expected from one of a naturally combative temperament.

This set of works merits wide circulation and should be numbered among the few works selected by all persons engaged in making libraries.

The Evolution of Modern Liberty. By George L. Scherger, Ph.D., Professor of History, Armour Institute of Technology. Cloth. Pp. 284. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

IT IS HARD to realize that a few centuries ago there was no such thing as a great republic on earth, that democracy was scarcely even a dream, and that the despotic right of rulers was taken as a matter of course. Now one of the greatest world powers is a republic, and there are many others less powerful, while the democratic spirit is becoming more and more a force to be reckoned with in all national calculations. What has brought about the change? What has carried people on and up from the despotism and barbarism of the middle ages to republican North America and the growing democracies of Europe and the far South? Where did the idea of democratic freedom originate and who forced it on the attention of mankind and made it effective?

Those interested in the answers to these questions should read Professor Scherger's book. It is his declared purpose to trace the

genius and development of the political theories embodied in the Bills of Rights and in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, and to show that these documents are the results of long development. He confines himself to a historical treatment of the subject.

The following statements are extracted from the book and used without quotation marks:

In the despotisms of the Orient, personal liberty was entirely unknown, the life, actions and property of the individual being completely at the mercy of the ruler. The Greeks possessed political liberty but lacked personal freedom in the modern sense. There was no sphere of life to which the interference of the government might not be extended. The despotism of the state prevented the growth of private rights. The Greek existed for the state, not the state for him. The degree of liberty and security a people enjoy will profoundly influence their progress. Degradation has been the rule in despotisms.

England led the way for all other countries of modern times in establishing and protecting the liberty of the individual. Magna Charta, the Habeas Corpus Act, and the Bill of Rights are classic examples of declarations of popular rights. The people of the American colonies drew up declarations of certain rights to which they claimed to be entitled as men. While the political principles involved in these declarations of rights were not entirely new and did not even originate on American soil, the idea of embodying them in a political program was a distinctively American notion.

This idea was adopted by the French people during their great Revolution. In Germany the Parliament of Frankfort which met in 1849 and attempted prematurely to form a united empire, drew up a similar declaration of fundamental rights. The constitutions of many civilized nations now contain similar declarations.

These declarations of the rights of man mark a new era in the history of mankind. The humanitarian spirit underlies them. The conception that each individual citizen is entitled to the concern of the state; that his personality is of infinite worth and is a purpose of creation; that he should be recognized as an individual, as a man. The nineteenth century was preëmptively the century of liberalism. Perhaps no other century

witnessed greater and more numerous reforms and a greater extension of individual liberty. This century is marked by the abolition of slavery in all civilized countries, by the extension of the elective franchise, by the emancipation of woman, by the popularization of government, and by countless other reforms.

The foregoing from the author gives us a starting point. The history of the evolution of modern liberty is now taken up in more detail and is traced to its philosophical and spiritual sources. Part first treats of the development of the theory of natural law; part two of the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people; part three of the American bill of rights; and part four of the French Declaration of the rights of man and of the citizen.

In a work so solid, so full of facts, we can do no more than to select a few examples of the influence of ideas on the evolution under discussion. Thus we find the author saying:

"Individual liberty never had a more devoted champion than John Milton. He advocated the separation of church and state. His principles were thoroughly republican. He was the forerunner of American ideas of government and personal freedom."

The Americans did not import their ideas from France, but they had learned them primarily from English authors such as Milton, Locke, Harrington and others, for these English authors had exerted a wonderful influence upon such French writers as Voltaire, Montesquieu, Holbach and Turgot. Another English writer whose work was widely read and who exerted a powerful influence in both Europe and America was Blackstone, the celebrated author of *Commentaries on the Laws of England*.

But now comes a statement which will surprise that class of readers who have been led by many insinuations and direct charges to believe that Christianity is the foe of liberty. That the church has at times been used as the instrument of tyranny is true, but Christianity is peculiar in this, that from the very nature of its internal forces it has always worked itself free from its shackles. Its emancipation has always come from inside the church, never from the outside.

Professor Scherer fully realizes the power Christianity has exercised in the interest of liberty and states the facts in the case in strong terms. He says:

"Christianity plainly teaches the equality of all men before God, a notion which has again and again proved to be a levelling force to which no other can be compared. Christianity taught that God is no respecter of persons; that in His sight all men are equal; that every individual is accountable to a personal God for all his actions; that there is no human mediator between God and man. Christianity tore down the barriers between Greeks, Romans, barbarians, and created a feeling of human brotherhood which supplanted and exceeded in strength the patriotism of the old nations. It contained the germs of a new social and political order. Whenever there is a revival of primitive Christianity a renewal of the democratic spirit is observable."

The form in which aggressive protestant Christianity found itself in the early days of the colonization of North America was known as Puritanism, and, says the author, "that Puritanism gave rise to democratic political doctrines is shown by the fact that the first republicans in America were Puritan ministers, namely Roger Williams, Thomas Hooker and John Wise." These facts should be remembered by those too apt to mistake modern church tendencies for the real doctrines of Jesus.

But while giving due credit to Christianity, the author does not neglect any of the forces that have made for liberty. He notes the natural love of freedom peculiar to the Teutonic races, takes into account the work of philosophers, statesmen and writers of all countries,—in fact has made a concise yet exhaustive treatise on a vital theme. Its reading will give courage to all who hope for the evolution to continue till freedom, justice and equality are established among all nations.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Industrial Problem. By Lyman Abbott. Cloth. Pp. 196. Philadelphia: George W. Jacobs & Company.

THIS volume is made up of four lectures delivered by Dr. Abbott before the Philadelphia Divinity School on the William Levi Bull foundation. This foundation was established for the purpose of securing lectures before the Divinity School on the application of Christian principles to the "social, industrial and economic problems and needs of the times." The only restriction on the

lecturer is that he shall be a believer in the moral teachings and principles of the Christian religion as the true solvent of said problems.

The author of the volume under review was the lecturer for the year 1905 and chose for the subjects of his four lectures: The Industrial Problem; The Political Solution—Regulation; The Economic Solution—Reorganization; The Ethical Solution—Regeneration.

Dr. Abbott is not a socialist, but he ventures on socialistic ground more than once. His arraignment of present conditions is hardly less severe than that made by leading socialistic writers. "Individual industrialism," he says, "has not only impoverished man; it has degraded him; it has promoted and developed inhumanity to man. It has set class against class and individual against individual. While in our churches we have been praying the good Lord to deliver us from envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness, we have been pursuing in our industrial life a system whose tendency it was to produce envy, hatred, malice and all uncharitableness."

He further declares that the organization of both labor and capital marks a necessary step in the progress of the human race; that this progress is scientific, economic, industrial and ethical; that it is impossible to return to the individualism of the past; that the solution of our labor problem lies in moving forward toward a larger liberty, because of a better organization of the industrial forces of society.

But Dr. Abbott fears that state socialism would result in despotism. "How far," he says, "the nation, the state, the city or the village should go in the conduct of industries, it is certainly difficult and perhaps at the present time impossible to state. The community should not assume the administration of all industries, but should leave to private enterprise those industries which can be carried on better by private enterprises; by so doing it will secure the benefit of that initiative which individual competition stimulates." On the other hand, "the community should assume the administration of those industries, the organization and uniform direction of which are important, if not essential to its welfare as a community whenever experience indicates that it can administer those industries for its own benefit better than they will be administered by private enterprise. For example, a city cannot live a prosperous life

without a well organized system of furnishing water and light, but it can live a prosperous life without a well organized system of furnishing meat and bread."

Capitalism then is not to be done away with as the socialist demands, but is to be limited, democratized, refined, regulated by wise laws, and be brought into subjection to the Golden Rule.

"The final industrial solution," according to this author, "is to be sought for in such a development of human character, and such a development of industrial conditions founded thereon, that the distinction between tool owners and tool users will disappear. The tool users themselves become the tool owners, the laborers will themselves become the capitalists, and in so far as there are still capitalists who are not laborers, the conditions of individual industrialism will be reversed. Under individual industrialism labor was a commodity which the capitalists hired; under democratic industrialism capital will be a commodity which the laborer will hire."

Dr. Abbott is always clear, and sometimes logical. This is one of his best books.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Bossism and Monopoly. By Thomas Carl Spelling. Cloth. Pp. 360. New York: D. Appleton & Company.

THIS is one of the strongest pleas for the government-ownership of railroads that has ever been published in book form. The great monopoly is that of transportation. Others are great and oppressive, but this is the worst of all, the most fraught with menace to the Republic. The Interstate Commerce Commission has all the statutory powers it needs but is helpless against the ruthless and insolent combination of capitalists who control the railroads. No rate bill that can be devised by Congress will amount to anything except to delay government ownership—while its ineffectiveness is being demonstrated. This may take fifteen years. The purpose of monopoly is extortion. It will always increase the price while it renders inferior service. Regulation and rate fixing by government must be a failure. The only remedy is government-ownership. This will improve the service, dethrone the boss, give businessmen an equal chance, decrease the cost of travel, make life safer, and add to the public revenue. A saving of \$45,000,000 a year can

be made on carrying the mails alone. This would pay interest on a large part of the actual cost of the roads.

Such, in brief, is the claim of the author. The book is loaded with statistics, legal facts and quotations. He shows why the law cannot reach monopoly as organized to-day, but with government-ownership of transportation, with the removal of rebates, protective tariffs and other special privileges competition would do the rest and the monopoly evil would soon disappear.

But just how far the monopoly evil would disappear no one can in reality say. The radical socialist insists that the entire capitalistic system must be done away with, that while we have only a part we in reality have nothing. The Single Taxer pleads against private-ownership in land. The exact truth must be ascertained by experience. Meanwhile those who read Mr. Spelling's book will be aroused and informed if not absolutely convinced.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Satan Sanderson. By Hallie Erminie Rives. Illustrated in color. Cloth. Pp. 400. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is incomparably the best romance that has come from the pen of this author. It is cleverly conceived and well executed. True, the author lacks the genius of the novelists of first rank,—the power to make her characters at all times seem to be living, moving human beings. There are certain times when this power is present, but at other times the characters are not so convincing as one could wish; but the author's thought, the construction of the plot, and the weaving into the story of certain facts that have been proved to be possibilities by modern psychological research, show much skill and a remarkable advance on the part of the writer.

In this story, Jessica, the heroine, develops into a really strong and convincing character, and in lesser degree this is also true of Satan Sanderson and Hugh Stires. The novel opens with a scene in the home of a wealthy invalid named Stires. Besides the invalid, there are present the lawyer who has drawn up the old man's will; Jessica Holme, a blind girl who is the adopted daughter of Mr. Stires, a wonderfully gifted young

woman whose talent for sculpture amounts almost to genius; and the Rev. Harry Sanderson, the eloquent and popular young rector of St. James church. The will is being read, and it appears that the old man has disinherited his son Hugh, transferring the fortune to Jessica. The young woman remonstrates and appeals to the old man not to commit the contemplated act, and from the invalid she turns to the minister, who seconds her appeal. He tells the old man that Hugh, who startlingly resembles Harry in outward appearance as frequently to have been taken for the latter, and who was called Harry's shadow at college, had merely followed the wild lead of Harry himself, who in the university was known as "Satan" Sanderson or the "Abbot of the Saints," he being the ring-leader in wildness and dissipation of a fast set. Hugh had imitated the stronger man, and though Harry had reformed, Hugh had steadily gone down. The old gentleman refrains from signing the will for a time, and later Hugh appears on the scene. Both the young men fall in love with Jessica, who finally recovers her sight. Hugh wins her and on the wedding day the father disowns Hugh, having found that his son has forged his name for five thousand dollars. Hugh is driven from the home, and the elder Stires takes his adopted daughter and journeys for a time in foreign lands. Hugh returns to the city and appeals to the clergyman to help him to funds. The clergyman hopes to reform him, and in so doing resorts to a desperate expedient that leads to the clergyman's undoing. Then comes a succession of exciting events during which Sanderson meets with a terrible accident, loses his memory and is taken for Hugh Stires. He is discovered by Jessica, who imagines he is her husband and in many ways aids him. At length she reveals to him the supposed fact that she is his wife. The joy of the two lovers is short-lived. The real Hugh returns, but finds he is wanted for a murder he has committed and escapes, while the supposed Hugh is arrested. The trial and the succession of rather melodramatic events that crowd upon each other, and which are often marked by improbability, make the strongest part of the romance from the view-point of character studies. The story closes as readers want love stories to end,—with the light of dawning day succeeding the midnight darkness that has enveloped Sanderson and Jessica.

Empire Builders. By Francis Lynde. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 378. Price, \$1.50. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is one of the best romances of the year. It is strong, virile and convincing. The characters are real flesh and blood creations and the story has a swing, snap and go, characteristic of the life with which it deals.

The hero, Stuart Ford, is an ambitious young railroad man who battles with almost every conceivable obstacle. He is opposed by his superior officers, some of whom are capitalists; others, men who have faith in the grafting contingent. He confronts timid capital when daring and liberality offer the only salvation for the situation. Secret enemies are at work in his own camp. Corrupt contractors in league with the hostile superior officers hamper him and finally seek to murder him. And natural obstructions incident to an attempt to do a record piece of railroad building over a barren and rugged stretch of Rocky Mountain territory, are some of the things that Stuart Ford has to deal with. But during his trip East he has met this fate in the form of a beautiful American girl who loves the modern knight of the rail as ardently as did the grand ladies of older days love the daring ones who went forth to wrest the Holy Sepulchre from the Turk; and the influence of this girl, the steady power of her steadfast love, and the help of her brother, ever loyal to Ford, are ever-present helps and a tower of strength in the most crucial moments of the battle.

The novel abounds in stirring incidents and situations. Sometimes the melodramatic element dominates, as in the siege of the Nadia, but for the most part the credulity of the reader is not unduly taxed.

Successful Teaching. Fifteen Studies by Practical Teachers, Prize Winners in the National Educational Contest of 1905. With an Introduction by James M. Greenwood. Cloth. Pp. 200. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

AMONG the subjects treated in this volume are: personality as a factor in teaching; the value of psychology in teaching; how best to develop character in children; how best to gain and keep control of pupils; the art of story-telling and its uses in the school-room

advantages of memory work; nature studies; the place of biography in general education; and how to teach children to think. All these subjects are treated entertainingly and with common-sense. It is one of the best small books on education that has come to our notice.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Modern Poets and Christian Teaching. By David G. Downey. Cloth. Pp. 184. Price, \$1.00 net. New York: Eaton & Mains.

THIS little volume contains brief and sympathetic studies of the lives and the message, together with indications of the Christian influence, in the writings of three well-known conscience poets of our time,—Edwin Markham, Richard Watson Gilder and Edward Rowland Sill. The writer is a Methodist clergyman, and though he naturally gives special emphasis to the religious side of his subject's message, the sketches of the lives and his interpretation of the message, accompanied as they are by liberal quotations from their writings, are marked by breadth of spirit and fine insight or ethical perception.

We hardly think that Mr. Downey does full justice to Edwin Markham; not that he criticizes his life or work unfavorably, but he does not seem to appreciate the essential greatness of Markham as a poet and his unique and preëminent position as the master living poet of democracy.

The sketch of Richard Watson Gilder, and especially the study of Mr. Gilder's verse, is charming.

We were, however, especially pleased with the consideration given by the author to the poetry of Edward Rowland Sill, one of America's fine conscience poets who left us all too soon and whose work is too little known to the public.

The volume is written in simple language, intended as a message to Christian people, and it cannot fail to be helpful and inspiring. We think the author, especially in his closing pages on "The Supremacy of the Spiritual," falls into an error which is common to many clergymen and public teachers and writers,—that of placing undue emphasis on the optimistic signs of the times and ignoring the sinister and ominous evils that strike at the heart of free institutions, pure government

and Christian civilization. In all ages the cry of easy-going conventionalism has been, "Prophecy to us smooth things!" and he who glosses over or ignores evils that strike at the heart of individual rectitude or national health has little to fear from the powers that be. The forces that make for egoism have no quarrel with the prophet who denounces evil in a general way while striving to make the people see that all is well and that there is no need of earnest, persistent agitation to correct specific evils of the time and place. But the man who, like Nathan, faces the sinning Davids in high places and says to each: "Thou art the man"; the man who shows just how injustice is working the impoverishment of bread-winners and the enrichment of an ever-narrowing feudalism of privileged wealth; the man who shows how the attempt to centralize power in irresponsible individuals or to invest office with a power from which there is no appeal, no matter how unjust or despotic the exercise of that power, strikes at the vitals of free government; the man who shows the essential criminality of war and the barbarism of a social order that permits child slavery—that man is sure to be denounced and in a thousand ways assailed. And as a result of this condition many earnest men become timid. They go so far, and then pause. They strive to quiet their consciences by indulging in glittering generalities and by placing special emphasis on the good that is present. Now the result is that they drug the conscience of the reader when it should be aroused, and what is equally unfortunate, they confuse the public mind in regard to fundamentals of right and wrong, of democracy and class-rule, of justice and injustice.

We believe most profoundly that ultimately the right will win, but we are more and more convinced that unless each man earnestly agitates and does the duty that lies nearest him, as did the olden prophets and the Great Nazarene, the night of reaction, militarism and commercial materialism will be prolonged and dark and terrible days will come ere the people come into the kingdom of justice and equity; while if we all unite in a determined educational agitation and dauntlessly persist in battling for the fundamentals of justice, freedom and fraternity, progress will be achieved without the shock of force and at an early day.

The Ministry of Beauty. By Stanton Davis Kirkham. Art Boards. Printed on deckled-edged paper. Pp. 180. San Francisco: Paul Elder & Company.

THE AUTHOR of this work has the imagination of a poet, the brain of an ethical philosopher and a felicity of expression that invests his writing with peculiar charm. The subject-matter of the work in the hands of one thus gifted naturally becomes of special interest and value. The author is a teacher who possesses the seeing eye of the poet, which enables him to lure the reader, even though he be somewhat careless of the graver things of life, from page to page, suggesting a world of truth vital in its influence on life, in such a way as to charm the imagination. For here is a wealth of imagery which robs the lessons of didactic suggestion, and at the same time the reader's eye will be trained to see, his ear to hear and his brain to take cognizance of the beauty the harmony, and the ever-recurring miracle of nature.

The work contains thirteen chapters, in which the author discusses such subjects as "Beauty," "Life," "Religion," "Philosophy," "The World-Message," "The Tendency to Good," "Work," "Health," "Happiness," "The Teacher," "The Preacher," and "The Poet."

The author is an optimist,—a sane, practical, normal optimist, and the wine of good cheer and the inspiration to faith, hope and love are found in generous measure. It is a volume that will radiate a helpful influence while wonderfully adding to the vital culture of the reader and increasing his happiness by making him see and appreciate new beauties and wonders all around him—beauties and wonders that unhappily few persons have more than dimly recognized. We take pleasure in recommending this book to our readers, as it is one that is worthy a place in a well-chosen library of helpful and inspiring works.

Bisocialism. By Oliver Trowbridge. Cloth. Pp. 428. New York: Moody Publishing Company.

TO THE world have been offered many remedies for the economic evils of the established order. Ten or twelve years ago we were repeatedly told that more money was the only thing needed. Give the country more money and all monopolies would be dissolved and economic troubles would fade

like the shadows of night before the rising sun. More money came, and with it more monopoly, more oppression, a greater difference between wages and the cost of living. The trouble was then charged to the protective tariff and to discriminations in transportation, and the cry for the government of railroads with free trade is now in the air. That this will certainly make things right is the claim of many able thinkers. Others demand a single tax on land, with the abolition of public franchises, a kind of semi-socialism. Meanwhile the omnisocialist smiles and says, "You may try all these, but so long as the profit system exists, even in part, it will endanger the whole economic structure. In the meantime many thoughtful economic writers assert that it is impossible to draw the line between public and private-ownership and industry. Experience alone must be our guide, and time, perhaps generations, will be necessary to determine the points through which this line must run.

One fact, however, in this connection should be noted. All writers whose opinion is worth anything, that is, all who are not manifestly hired by the capitalistic powers to write things which they know are not true, all independent, earnest seekers after the welfare of mankind, agree on certain phases of the problem and its solution. There is enough in the world for all, but there is great inequality and injustice in its distribution. The problem, then, is a problem of state; of, not merely more laws, but of enlarged state functions. The solution is to be found somewhere along the line of socialism. Just where is the question.

At last we have an exact scientific solution of this problem in this book entitled *Bisocialism*. It is clear, original and consistent, and yet difficult. The difficulty arises from the introduction of so many new terms and definitions. In fact, the very purpose of the book is in danger of being defeated thereby. The world is impatient with being forced to learn so many new things in order to understand a writer's meaning. The author talks of utility and disutility, of the marginal labor-form, of differential values, of credit forms and land forms, of the dollar *versus* the dollar, of value and disvalue, and many other things representing minute shades of meaning, all of which seem correct in themselves, but which the world can scarcely be blamed for not taking time to learn.

Even the meaning of the term "bisocialism" is difficult to grasp as the author uses it. Semi-socialism would seem to fit the case better. From his definition of omnisocialism he certainly cannot mean by bisocialism a double socialism, but rather a half-socialism. However, the main thing is not in the term, but the thought, and the author's thought is grasped when it is seen what this bisocialism is supposed to do. Here is the program: "It will destroy all monopoly values; socialize all ground values and all public utility franchise values; individualize all labor values and all capital values, and it will create and maintain an economic system which will permit the fullest coöperation in industry and the freest competition in exchange." In other words, there are five differential values of product, a labor differential, a land differential, a capital differential a franchise differential, and a monopoly differential. These five differentials are the only ones which it is possible to create or acquire under any economic system whatever. In the established order all these differentials exist and all are left practically to private-ownership. Omnisocialism would socialize them all. Bisocialism would destroy one, socialize two; hence the name, and leave two entirely to the individual. This is the true, just and eternal remedy for all the economic evils of the established order. Scientifically it seems correct. The only question is, will it work?

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

Panama, The Isthmus and Canal. By C. H. Forbes-Lindsey. Cloth. Pp. 368. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

MR. FORBES-LINDSEY is the author of *India, Past and Present*; *The Philippines Under Spanish and American Rule*; and *America's Insular Possessions*. In this volume he discusses canals in general, gives the history of canal construction, sets forth their commercial value, and gives many interesting facts about countries which have been benefited by these artificial water-ways. With particular reference to the Panama Canal, he gives a complete history of the Isthmus since its discovery by Europeans, speaks of the search for a strait across it, tells of the early dreams of a canal, discusses the Nicaragua route, and then adds the history of the attempt to dig the canal now under construction. That part of the history which treats

of De Lesseps and his disastrous failure is especially interesting. Scarcely less so is the history of the proceedings which led up to the final adoption of the Panama route, the Panama revolution, the adoption of plans for resuming the work, and the progress up to date of the publication of the book.

The author thinks that the opening of the new gateway to the Pacific will give a tremendous impetus to the industries of the South. Its raw cotton, the products of its mills, its coal and iron, will find an enlarged market under much more favorable freight conditions. It will also be of immense benefit to our Pacific states in affording them increased facilities for shipping lumber, fruit and fish to the eastern market. The book is optimistic, the author evidently believing in our ability to dig the canal and make it a great source of commercial strength to ourselves and a blessing to mankind in general.

ROBERT E. BISBEE.

The Pure Gold of Nineteenth Century Literature. By William Lyon Phelps. Cloth. Pp. 40. Price, 75 cents net. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Company.

THE TITLE of this work is misleading. One would naturally suppose that the author in sweeping the field of nineteenth century literature, would touch upon the writings of masters who lived beyond the borders of Britain. Especially is it surprising to find a professor in an American university ignoring his own land when writing of a period that produced men like Ralph Waldo Emerson. Titles so misleading are unfortunate for the author, as they are unfair to the reader, for they naturally tend to prejudice the reader against the writer.

Aside from this criticism, however, this little work merits strong words of praise. In it Professor Phelps has given brief but on the whole discriminating appreciations of those whom he considers to be the masters of nineteenth century literature in the British Isles. He is especially happy in his characterization of the poets. Here we have Keast, Wordsworth, Browning, Byron, Shelley and Tennyson described in an admirable manner, the appreciation of Browning being particularly fine. When he comes to consider and grade the prose writers he is not quite so satisfactory, from our point-of-view. Still, the work is on the whole an exceptionally

fine brief appreciation of the chief British contributors to the literature of permanent value during the nineteenth century.

Morning. A Volume of Miscellaneous Verse.

By James Whitcomb Riley. Cloth. Pp. 162. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

THIS is a volume of verse made up largely of poems written for special occasions. Many of them are personal in character, that on Longfellow being one of the best. The lines entitled "The Quest of the Fathers," from which we take the following stanzas, are among the best verse in the work, which is marked by great variety in its content matter:

"What were our Forefathers trying to find
When they weighed anchor, that desperate hour
They turned from home, and the warning wind
Sighed in the sails of the old Mayflower?
What sought they that could compensate
Their hearts for the loved ones left behind—
The household group at the glowing grate?—
What were our Forefathers trying to find?

"Faces pallid, but sternly set,
Lips locked close, as in voiceless prayer,
And eyes with never a teardrop wet—
Even the tenderest woman's there!
But O the light from the soul within,
As each spake each with a flashing mind—
As the lightning speaks to its kith and kin
What were our Forefathers trying to find?

"And yet, befriended in some strange wise,
They groped their way in the storm and stress
Through which—though their look found not the
skies—
The Lord's look found *them* ne'ertheless—
Found them, yea, in their piteous lot,
As they in their faith from the first divined—
Found them, and favored them—too. But what—
What were our Forefathers trying to find?

"Numb and agasp, with the frost for breath,
They came on a frozen shore, at last,
As bleak and drear as the coasts of death,—
And yet their psalm o'er the wintry blast
Rang glad as though 'twere the chiming mirth
Of jubilant children landing there—
Until o'er all of the icy earth
The snows seemed warm, as they knelt in prayer.

"For lo! they were close on the trail they sought:
In the sacred soil of the rights of men
They marked where the Master-hand had wrought;
And there they garnered and sowed again.—
Their land—then *ours*, as to-day it is,
With its flag of heaven's own light designed.
And God's vast love o'er all. . . And *this*
Is what our Forefathers were trying to find."

Under the heading of "Imitations" there are some clever lines. The following example entitled "Ef Uncle Remus Please Ter 'Scusen Me," is especially good:

'Dey wunce wuz er time which I gwinter tell you
'bout it—
An' it's easy ter believe it sho'ly ez it is ter doubt
it—
So des you pick yer 'ruthers' whilse I tell how ole
Br'er Rabbit
Wunce know de time when he git de fightin' habit.
Co'se he ain't no bragger, des a-rippin' an' a-rarin'
An' a-darin' all de beestus an' a-des a-double-
darin'
Sich ez Mr. Jonus Lion, er Sir Mr. Twister Tagger,
Er Sister Hisstopottomus, er A'nt Fergunny
Ja'gger
Yit, des de same, he layin' low an' know he got de
muscle
What sho' ter s'prise mos' any size what crowd 'im
fer a tussle.—
But speshully he 'spise de Dawg, an' sight 'er one
des make 'im
Fergit hisse' f an' run 'em down an' grab 'em up
an' shake 'em—
An' mo' n dat, ef 't wuz n't fer de Dawg-law den
ag'in it,
He'd des a-kilt off ev'y Dawg dat 's chasin' him
dis minute "

The work as a whole, however, is far inferior to most of Mr. Riley's books, and we doubt the wisdom of the poet publishing many lines found in these pages, which, however apt and pleasing for some special assemblage that probably called them forth, have no permanent value and are not really worthy of publication.

The Best Man. By Harold MacGrath. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 208. Indianapolis: The Bobbs-Merrill Company.

ALL OF Harold MacGrath's stories may be fitly described as light, bright and entertaining. For those who wish pleasantly to while away the time without being compelled to think seriously, his tales will prove attractive. He seldom indulges in serious writing, but in the present volume there are some things that are calculated to make one think. The volume contains three short, pleasing tales that deal with the old, old story and all end much as the reader would desire. We do not think the volume equal to *The Man on the Box*, but it is decidedly superior to *Enchantment*, Mr. MacGrath's previously published volume of short stories.

Poor Richard Jr.'s Almanac.

Good Stories From The Ladies' Home Journal.

The Bachelor's Guide to Matrimony. By Reginald Wright Kauffman.

Thro' the Rye. By Herman Lee Meader.

Illuminated boards. Price, 50 cents each. Philadelphia: Henry Altemus Company.

OF THESE little works the first two, *Poor Richard Jr.'s Almanac* and *Good Stories from The Ladies' Home Journal*, are exceptionally bright, entertaining and wholesome, and they are often helpfully suggestive. Of *The Bachelor's Guide to Matrimony* it can be said to be a clever work, full of witty and well-turned observations, but it is distinctly light

and frivolous. The atmosphere is not morally stimulating; rather the reverse, from the tendency to make light of those things that should be ever regarded as most sacred in life's relations. The fourth volume, *Thro' the Rye*, we cannot recommend to any class of readers, for the reason that the atmosphere is distinctly unhealthy. It reeks with the world of "wine, women and song"—the world in which all that is divine and noble in life is pushed aside for sensuous gratifications that press downward and that end in sorrow and bitterness, and which at best is a counterfeit world where every so-called pleasure contains a sting and poisons the soul, and where every joy is as essentially ephemeral as the fleeting days.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

GOVERNMENT BY FEDERAL JUDGES: No more timely or important paper has appeared in an American periodical during the present year than the powerful and statesmanlike contribution by the Honorable WALTER CLARK, LL.D., Chief Justice of North Carolina, which we publish in this issue of THE ARENA, dealing with government by Federal judges. Mr. CLARK has been on the Supreme Bench of North Carolina for many years. When the people demanded that he be elected to this most important office within the gift of the state, because of his able rulings and the fidelity with which he had administered his high trust as Associate Justice on the Supreme Bench, the tobacco trust and the railroad corporations, who had found that in this statesman of the old-time order, this man of the WASHINGTON and JEFFERSON spirit, there was a public servant who could not be seduced, sought to defeat him. Judge CLARK, however, was elected by the largest majority ever accorded to a public servant in the state. He is one of the ripest scholars of the South and a man whose rulings have been marked by an eminent degree of fairness and justice. The present contribution is bound to attract general attention and occasion much comment. To the upholders of class-rule, the reactionaries and the enemies of free institutions it cannot be otherwise than extremely distasteful, as it so clearly exposes the untenable character of their position; while to the friends of a democratic republic it will be a clarion call to duty,—a call to cast aside their indifference, close ranks and rally to the defence of fundamental and vital popular rights that are being placed in deadly peril by class interests operating through money-controlled machines and reactionary statesmen who while professing fidelity to free institutions

are secretly striving to foster a condition that would make the feudalism of privileged wealth, the political boss, the money-controlled machine, and the politicians that serve the interests the masters of American political institutions. No more important paper has appeared this autumn than Judge CLARK's able contribution to this issue.

Municipal Art in Southern Cities: In this issue we publish a beautifully illustrated paper on New Orleans, from the scholarly pen of GEORGE WHARTON JAMES, who acting as special commissioner for THE ARENA recently made a careful study of several typical southern cities for the present series of papers. This is the opening contribution of Mr. JAMES' articles on municipal art in southern cities and it will be followed by other contributions on Galveston, Houston and San Antonio. The series will be an extremely valuable contribution to the vital literature relating to modern municipalities.

Political Economy and Present-Day Civilization: A Criticism: We desire to call the special attention of our readers to WILLIAM JACKSON ARMSTRONG's brilliant paper on political economy, which appears in this issue. Mr. ARMSTRONG is the author of *Heroes of Defeat* and has for many years been a prominent figure both in political and literary circles. He is a bold, incisive thinker, a brilliant orator and a man absolutely devoted to the cause of justice and the rights of man. Seldom has the essentially vicious character of the *laissez faire* theory been so clearly exposed as in this thought-compelling contribution. The people have slept over-long. The ends of democracy have been largely defeated through the failure to safeguard

the interests of all the people. This failure has enabled the shrewd, cunning, unscrupulous, daring and masterful few in our great Republic to become as much the masters of the many as the Crown and the hereditary aristocracy are of the people in limited monarchies. Popular government in America has in many instances in city, state, and at times in the nation, ceased to be truly representative of the people and is at all times, excepting during periods of general exposure and public indignation, more responsive to privileged wealth and monopoly interests than to the interests of the millions. This condition can only be overcome by practical measures which will insure to the people a really representative government—measures like the initiative, referendum and the right of recall, which have in every instance where they have been introduced resulted in a truly representative government in place of misrepresentative rule.

New Zealand: A New Democracy: THE ARENA is, we believe, presenting more vitally constructive papers from authoritative writers dealing with popular government in a practical way and illustrated by experiments that have proved successful, than any other American review or magazine. In this issue we present another contribution from Mr. A. A. Brown, dealing with practical democratic advance as seen in the dominion of New Zealand. This clear, lucid and inspiring paper is not the theory of a visionary or the utterance of some one who writes of matters about which he has no personal knowledge; for the author's present contribution is the fruit of a personal visit to New Zealand, during which he made an exhaustive study of the actual workings of the government. He therefore speaks from knowledge and his paper will appeal to all earnest men and women who think for themselves.

The Federation of the World: In *The Federation of the World*, by WALTER BARTNETT, a prominent member of the American Society of International Law, our readers will find a broad, statesmanlike paper in which the author shows how mighty forces are rapidly making for world federation. His own position is that of an enlightened statesman who has thought deeply upon the great subject which he discusses. He holds that the true function of government is the advancement of the welfare of all classes; that the great enlightenment of the people of all lands must ultimately result in the greater stability of government; that the principle of government of the people, by the people and for the people is becoming universal; and that the nations are beginning to realize the self-interest that lies in coöperation; while in the various movements already inaugurated which look toward world union along various lines, we have a warrant for believing that "in the course of a few years we shall see the shaping of a true world-movement . . . toward the effectuation of an international understanding embodied in a permanent institution of universal scope." The paper is one that should challenge the attention of all lovers of humanity and human progress.

An Impressionist on the Photographic Art: In this issue we give a finely illustrated interview with Mr. PAUL FOURNIER on the photographer's art as

conceived by the impressionistic artist. Mr. FOURNIER, though one of the youngest of the well known impressionistic photographers, has won an enviable place among his brothers who seek, in so far as possible to catch nature in her varying moods and who, when they fail in their efforts to surprise the great Mother, strive to succeed by manipulation of plates and mechanical efforts, so to imitate her as to achieve their desired ends. The photograph of HORACE TRAUBEL is a remarkably fine piece of work of its special kind, as are some of the landscapes.

Stevenson in San Francisco: Our readers will enjoy the bright and interesting sketch of ROBERT LOUIS STEVENSON in San Francisco, by JULIA SCOTT VROOMAN. There is a particular interest and charm attaching to almost everything relating to the life and thought of Mr. STEVENSON, and Mrs. VROOMAN, as an enthusiastic admirer of the great English author, is able to invest with special charm any pen-picture of this great man.

Mr. Shibley's Paper: We call special attention to the excellent short paper by GEORGE H. SHIBLEY, President of the National Federation for People's Rule, in which he so admirably exposes the shallow pretenses and thoroughly unrepublican attitude of Secretary TAFT and Senator LODGE in regard to the fundamental principles of popular government and the necessary and practical measures which the people are everywhere taking to wrest the government from the control of the corrupt bosses and money-controlled machines, which have defeated the ends of popular government in the interests of the feudalism of privileged wealth.

The Idealism of Kant: Readers of THE ARENA who followed with interest Judge JONES' deeply thoughtful paper on the idealism of PLATO and KANT in the October ARENA will find the paper which we publish this month from the scholarly pen of Judge JONES even more striking and interesting than the former contribution. In it the author in a remarkably lucid manner shows the extremely radical stand taken by the most profound of all German transcendental philosophers in regard to the creation and laws governing the physical universe.

Daniel's Vision: In this issue we give the concluding part of the paper by GEORGE MILLEN JARVIS on *Daniel's Vision*. While it is probable that few of our readers will agree with the author in his unique interpretation of this passage, it will doubtless serve the excellent purpose of stimulating thought and inquiry. The author has spent many years of patient study of certain passages of the Old Testament, and in his printed works as well as in this paper he gives the fruit of his conclusions,—what appears to him to be the truth that explains passages that long perplexed him as being hidden and unintelligible. And as progress waits on the hospitable attitude of the human mind to any thoughts that are the fruit of long meditation, it seemed but right to give a hearing to these conclusions which represent the fruit of so many years of study.